

# *The* Industrial Pioneer

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In this issue



# Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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*The*  
**Industrial Pioneer**  
 Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

Vol. I.

No. 9

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Let us hope that when he has lived his  
age he will have signed "Happy" on every  
page



# THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Vol. I.

JANUARY, 1924

No. 9

## 1924 Is Beginning

Amid Industrial Depression—World In Chaos As 1923 Ends.

By EDWARD LLOYD.

**T**HE old year, 1923, has passed into history. 1924 is beginning, ushered in with trade depression, due as the boss' mouthpiece, the press will tell us, to the fact that this is the year of the Presidential election. We will be filled with the time honored bunk to be careful of our money till trade conditions are "normal" again.

Never in the history of civilization has the world seen such chaos as we have just passed through. European countries are on the verge of starvation. Germany is starving. The Ruhr, (by the way, Ruhr stands for Coal, Iron, Ore and Steel), is the bone of contention between England and France. "Lady" Astor, (Nancy Hanks) wants to drive radicals to the last ditch, "and leave them there." "Nancy" knows that her day of robbing the worker is past when the workers are in control of the industries, so to the ditch the English radical must go. "Nancy" has so decreed.

As it was in the beginning. From the time that man learned to produce more than he needed himself, he has been the prey of leeches, who sought to obtain what he had produced to further their own ends. Monopolies were evolved. Each vied with the other in devising means to rob the producer of the fruits of his toil.

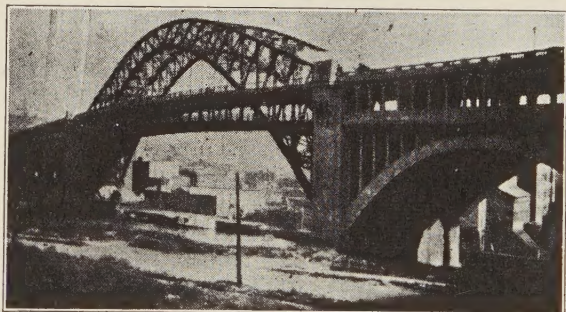
Matters went on in this manner all through the time of the feudal lords and the baronial period. Man was the slave of the landed lords. They, the lords, created their own laws, and kept the slaves crushed. The clergy were hand in glove with them. Religious, racial, color, and craft hatred were inculcated into the workers. The poor deluded slaves were kept too busy flying at each others' throats to think of bettering their own conditions.

### Craft Unions Appear

Finally came the time when the workers realized that they must band themselves together in order to protect themselves from the existing conditions, which were now unbearable. From one form of organization to another they evolved, until finally came into existence the American Federation of Labor.

Banded together according to the craft they followed, or to use an up-to-date expression, organized around a monkey-wrench or trowel, they were able, in a measure, to hold their own, **as long as the hand period of production was in vogue.** But, came the time when machines commenced to take the place of the "skilled" worker. Men who formerly owned the tools they worked with had to leave these tools at home. **The boss owned the tools now, he had a machine to do the work.**

He did not require so many men now. Men were laid off. One machine would do the work of ten,



HIGH LEVEL BRIDGE, CLEVELAND, O.  
In District Hit By Unemployment.

or even more men. A surplus of labor was thus produced for that particular form of craft. The warehouses and store-houses were quickly filled. **The boss was in a position to dictate to the union.** Men with families to support were now out of work and ready to under-bid their fellow craftsmen in the labor market in order to provide for their children. The craft union was helpless.

### Enter, "American Plan"

With the advent of machines to displace hand labor was born the germ of the present "American Plan." Production, unlike the existing form of unionism, is not "as it was in the beginning." On the contrary, it was advancing with rapid strides. Combines were formed, huge fortunes were being made out of the blood of the workers. More fortunes must be made. The owners of the job are money-mad.

**All the big operators are now welded together in ONE BIG UNION OF THEIR OWN. All other unions must be crushed. Seeing the success of a**



**One Big Union of themselves, they fear for themselves in case the workers should adopt the same idea.**

Consequently, when the slaves of the various trusts and combines did revolt, when driven to desperation by long hours of toil, low wages, and rotten working conditions, they tried to get a little of the good things of life which they produced; their masters were ready for them. The offal of society was enlisted to beat and kill the workers, thugs and gunmen from the depths of the slums were there to do their masters' bidding. The latter had their own permanent police force to back up the thugs, and when the workers were beaten, these thugs, these gunmen, these hundred-percenters went back to their profession of hold-up, robbery, pimping and murder.

### **The Railroaders' "Big Cheese"!**

During the past year you saw the break-down of a large number of strikes. The most notable one was the railroad shopmen's strike. These men were organized **around the railroad shop**, and we saw the spectacle of union engineers with their union firemen, brakemen and conductors, busily engaged in hauling car-loads of the advocates of the "American Plan" into the shops to break the strike of their brothers in the railroad industry. The Big Cheese of the railroad engineers has become a great banker, also as the operator of a coal mine on the "American Plan", is himself a robber of the working class.

The coal miners have been whipped, the soft coal miners scabbing on the hard coal miners, helpless because of "contracts." Reminds one of the definition of union scabs which appeared a few years ago, it is old but worth repeating. Here it is: "UNION SCABS:—My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my card."

### **The Lake Seamen Whipped**

The International Seamen's Union was whipped to a stand-still on the lakes, the strike was postponed from 1922 until 1923, but it never materialized. Andy and his fellow pie-card artists are a thing of the past.

The summer of 1923 saw the workers treated as well as they ever will be under the capitalistic system. There was a boom in certain parts of the country, they were working long hours with a hundred-percenter behind them to tell them to "hurry up". Perhaps they were working to machine. Then was the time they should have seen that the speed-up system, this "hurry-up" fortune making for the boss is the very cause of hundreds of them being out of employment today. Then was the time they should have studied the situation and made preparations to protect themselves from danger.

In the face of such evidence, fellow workers, do you, can you, expect any benefit from a craft

union? Can you, members of a union with a banker-mine-owner at its head expect that he will have your interests, the interest of the workers at heart? Has not the labor leaders' treason to the working class been exposed hundreds of times? Craft unionism has, and always will, fail.

### **Spread of the IWW**

Now, have you ever studied the teachings of the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World? Originating in 1905, and composed of a small band of workingmen, its ideas soon spread to the five continents. Especially in the west, where the migratory worker, the harvest hand and the lumber jack work, did its teachings appeal to the exploited wage slaves. These men, exploited at every turn, proved what solidarity will do. The filthy camps were made fit places to work and live in, cots were provided for the workers to sleep on instead of the double-decker, two-occupant bunk. Clean bed linen was provided.

No longer was it necessary for a clean, healthy young lumberjack to sleep with another person who was probably infected with syphilis or tuberculosis. No longer was it necessary to pass half of the night fighting lice. All that was a thing of the past. The IWW was here. The lumber workers united in one union, (not a union of sawyers, swampers, skimmers, skid-men, etc., but a union of **lumber workers**) soon told Mr. Lumber Baron where to head in at. The Agricultural workers had the same experience. Then the movement spread to all parts of the country, in fact, to all parts of the world.

The building construction workers, the oil workers, workers in all industries soon followed suit. The boss was quick to recognize the danger such a union meant to him. Why, since the IWW came into existence, his slaves were even neglecting to tip their hats to him; some of them had actually told him to go to hell. He tried firing one of them, but, Lord, the whole works quit. This never happened with an ordinary "union" man. Something must be done about it, and that something, quick.

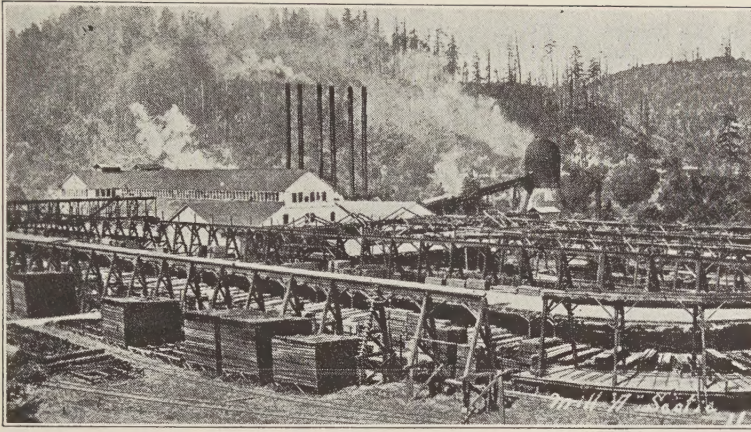
### **Persecution a Failure**

Persecution of these workers was started at once. They were thrown into jail, tortured, lynched. Men were dragged behind autos with ropes around their necks, imprisonment up to forty years imposed upon them. The press, at the bidding of their masters, were publishing the most damnable lies about them, and every effort was put forth to prejudice the public against them, but the movement seemed to thrive on persecution and prosecution. Its membership grew by leaps and bounds, until today it is a power to be reckoned with.

Every effort was made both during and after the war to break it up. Everyone knows of the Armistice tragedy at Centralia, Wash. California is famous, or infamous, for its criminal syndicalism law. Men are forbidden by court injunction to

(Continued on page 10.)





# The Vision of The New Day In California

By ARCHIE SINCLAIR.



SAW-MILL AT SCOTIA.

IN the preface of his wonderful book, "Les Misérables," Victor Hugo said: "So long as there exists, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which, in the face of civilization, artificially creates hells on earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine, with human fatality; so long as the three problems of the age—the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of women by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual night—are not solved; so long as, in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible; in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, books like this cannot be useless."

This in some measure explains the reason why men will go to prison for an ideal. The great writer and humanitarian saw a social vision; he knew that the social and economic system under which we live was wrong. Perhaps he did not clearly understand the remedy—at least his writings do not indicate that he knew the cure for the disease. Perhaps he did not recognize the industrial nature of the struggle as clearly as we of the Industrial Workers of the World. But he did recognize that poverty is the cause of all misery; and recognized also, that while poverty exists protest will be made.

The Great World War gave the industrial and financial masters a plausible excuse for persecuting men and women who held beliefs that were inimical to their interests. In the ante-bellum days it was difficult for them to make wholesale arrests and convictions of industrial rebels. It is true that they could single out individuals and even small groups and send them to prison on trumped up charges, but even the masters must adhere somewhat to the rules of the game which they themselves have made. With the entrance of the United States into the murderfest the rules have been discarded, and to date have not been resumed. In some parts of the country we are slowly returning to "normalcy," the hysteria of the war period and the Bolshevik scare that followed is subsiding, in other parts of the country the intolerance is as rampant as ever.

## Persecution

California, today, leads the world in persecution of workers who refuse to pay homage to the Oligarchy; and California also leads in men having the courage to go to prison for their ideals. Persecution breeds a fanaticism that will not, cannot submit to arrogance and greed. History is being written today in California that will amaze future generations. Our children will read with astonishment of the blind cruelty of the present day rulers, and of the stupidity and apathy of the workers who tolerate the persecution of their fellow-workers. The Criminal Syndicalism law will be kept as a relic for the barbarism of this benighted age.

## The Lesson

When Labor's history is written, as it will some day be written, when men and women learn the bitter lesson that only through their industrial solidarity can they accomplish their emancipation, the reason for the persecution of union men will be made clear.

The list of men sent to prison for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law in California steadily grows larger. Each succeeding month adds the name of some worker who loves his ideals better than bodily freedom, who believes in social redemption, rather than in individual gain. At the present writing there is going on in Sacramento a Criminal Syndicalism trial. Three men, Homer Stewart, Pete Wukusich and J. C. Driscoll are being tried for treason to the Industrial Feudal Barons. Like their Fellow-Workers who are in San Quentin and Folsom they were organizing the workers into the One Big Union of the I.W.W. This is treason in California. In the Golden State the fact that workers have no rights, but only privileges is forcibly brought home to us. The judiciary and prosecuting attorneys are at the beck and call of the industrial masters. They wear the scarlet livery. While posing as saviors of the community, they are working for their masters, the owners of industry. How the trial at Sacramento will result remains to be seen. There are indications that the citizens of that county are at last beginning to realize the danger of



allowing workers to be sent to prison at the behest of Big Business, but the result of the trial cannot be foretold.

### **Liberty Never Dies**

One thing is certain, that while the persecution of workers continues, while men choose prison to industrial serfdom, the fight in their behalf must be kept up. Already ninety-seven members of the IWW have gone to San Quentin and Folsom and more will undoubtedly follow. The spirit of Liberty cannot be quenched by steel bars and walls of stone. While social and economic injustice prevail men will protest and their protest cannot be stifled by persecution.

The men in the penitentiaries of California—sailors, longshoremen, construction workers, oil workers, harvest workers, loggers, have seen the vision of the New Day; they have learned the lesson of Industrial Solidarity and are paying the price that all rebels were forced to pay, because of the indifference of the rest of humanity. The twin hells of California hide these men, and the masters think that they have stifled the voices of the malcontents. But the walls of San Quentin only echo the sound of their voices and increase the volume of protest. Never in the history of the world was the voice of social protest silenced with the clang of a cell door. The men in the bastilles of France shouted their defiance to the Bourbons and their cry was taken up by the peasantry and surged through the land to the tune of "La Marseillaise":

Oh, Liberty! can man resign thee?  
Once having felt thy generous flame,  
Can dungeon's bolts and bars confine thee?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Too long the world has wept bewailing,  
That Falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;  
But Freedom is our sword and shield;  
And all their arts are unavailing."

The voice of the men in the salt mines of Siberia re-echoed through Holy Russia, Tsarist Russia:

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!  
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!  
For Justice thunders condemnation  
A better world's in birth."

The voice of the men in prison for their unflinching loyalty to the cause of the working class of the United States and of the world will yet be heard. Ours is the task to bring the message to the ears of the workers. It is our duty to arouse the men and women of the working class to the need of unity and solidarity. We must make known to all, the reason why men go to prison for an ideal.

Ninety seven members of the working class are in prison in California because they would not renounce their beliefs. They will remain there until the workers demand, by the power of their economic might, their release. What is your answer, workers?

## **French General Converted**

General Percin, French Officer and Artillery expert, who was in command in the Lille area when war broke out in 1914, writes in *L'Orde Natéral*, says a correspondent in Foreign Affairs, for November, as follows:

"I was brought up an ardent patriot, not to say jingo, and in 1865 entered the army as a professional soldier. I was twice wounded in the 1870 war, and for the next forty years detested the Germans, and ardently prepared a war of revenge. Now, at the age of 77, I have become an uncompromising pacifist, a keen internationalist, and a strong partisan of Franco-German rapprochement.

"The war of 1914 to 1918 has shown me the fallacy of believing that war is an unavoidable evil, the only method of settling international disputes. . . . The wrong side is as likely to win as the right. War must be replaced by a real League of Nations, from which no one is excluded, not even Germany. The fundamental error of the Treaty of Versailles was to negotiate without Germany, to extort from her a confession of guilt, and to make her solely responsible for war damages.

"The war mind must be destroyed by educating people as to the fallacy of the alleged glory of the war and the supremacy of so-called national interests; by inculcating into children the idea that there is nothing more 'noble' about the profession of arms than about that of the scavenger; by remoulding the teaching of history; by no longer giving soldiers and weapons as toys; and by refusing to perpetuate in street names either battles or soldiers, replacing such names by those of real benefactors of humanity. In short by making pacifism as fashionable as "bellicisme" is at present."

Lastly, General Percin advocates "the suppression of the chief cause of war by the internationalism of the wealth of the sub-soil, such as the coal of the Ruhr, the iron of Alsace Lorraine, and the oil of Mosul."

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### **WHERE MILITARISM STOPS**

A great and complex industrial mechanism cannot be effectively operated by soldiers, least of all by foreign soldiers.—From editorial, "A Welcome Change on French Policy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 6, 1923.

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### **THE FARMER'S "STRIKE"**

The farmers are on strike! They are decreasing acreage sown to wheat—up to 2,500,000 acres in last two years in Kansas alone—in order to exhaust reserve supplies and boost prices. This "strike" affords material for overpopulation theories, but otherwise no one complains against it. It's sabotage, a la capitalism, and so all right.



# California Holds the Key

Bulletin No. 47, of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110, IWW, contains the following:

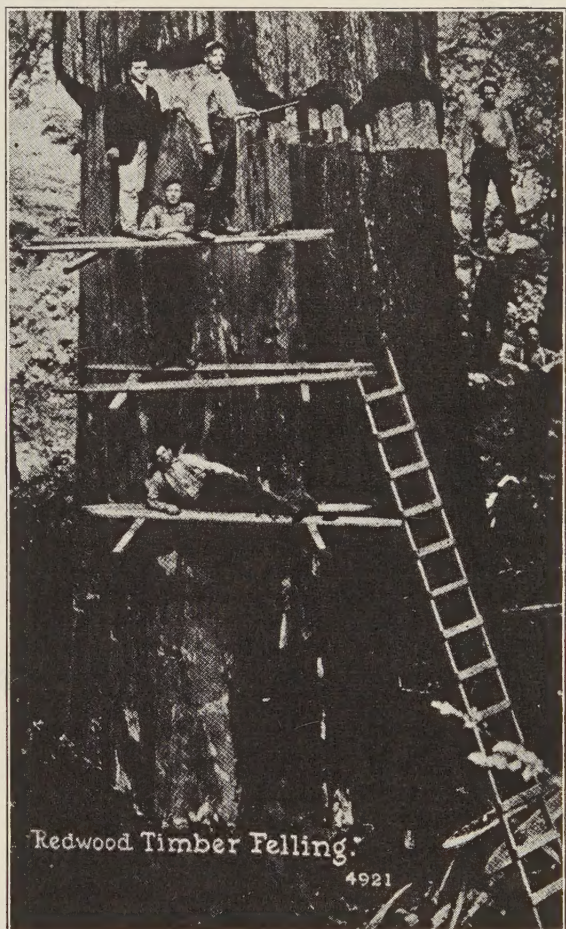
**I**N California the situation is pregnant with possibilities for the IWW, and if we are equal to our opportunity there our organization will establish itself to a degree where other organizations will be won over by its effectiveness.

In the persecution of the IWW in California, all labor and every labor union, is being attacked. It is being demonstrated in that state that law is not administered but taken advantage of to supply means for serving the desires and ambitions of privilege. The densest and most prejudiced are seeing that in California the scale is discarded for the whip, and that so-called "sanctuaries of justice" are but portals to the penitentiary when accused workers enter them. Even those who have been most unwilling to see are now compelled to admit that the courts do not function socially and impartially but stand ready to defy law in the service of the interests that hold California and its workers by the throat.

With the growth of an opinion that refuses to support the unjust decisions of the courts, the IWW pushed forward its organization plans and men and women devoted to it go voluntarily to defend the ground that labor cannot afford to relinquish. To hesitate now would be to imperil the prospect of success, or to delay its realization. Every attack must be resisted as every previous attack has been resisted. We must press on until we have established organization to an extent and to a degree which even the most hard-boiled of judges and industrialists will respect. For, when we are powerful enough to embarrass the employers, farmers or trust magnates—preferably the latter—we shall have reached a stage where these will call their legal puppets to heel, from J. P. to supreme judges.

The battle in California will result in many legal casualties and the work of defense will be necessarily heavy. That this has not been overlooked nor neglected vouches for the thoroughness with which preparation for the drive has been made. The General Defense Committee proposes to allow 50 per cent of the proceeds derived from the sale of defense stamps to the California branch of the General Defense. This should operate to augment the revenues of the California branch considerably.

In the present emergency, every dollar for defense is a dollar for organization. In California the IWW has an opportunity to win the attention and support of the workers throughout the United States and Canada, even of the world. For labor, in that state, the time has come to make a choice and take sides. The line-up in California



IN CALIFORNIA'S FORESTS.

will determine the line-up of labor in North America.

The AWIU in deciding to assert the right of the workers to organize into unions of their own selection has been guided by the true spirit of labor that governs every industrial union of the IWW. A failure to pick up the judicial gauntlet thrown down by the employing class would be tantamount to a confession that labor lacks the intelligence to organize and the courage to establish its rights.

California holds the key to the conquest for the emancipation of American labor.

## PLUMB OFF

Samuel H. Barker, financial writer for the Philadelphia North American, declares, "Economic Forces Have Fallen Out of Balance." That's a way they have under the present crazy capitalist system. It's a wonder there is sanity enough left, under this insane social disorder, for even the Barkers to recognize its lack of stability.



# Organizing the Central Lumber Region

**T**HE lumberjacks in the central lumber region are pushing a big organization drive there. At a mass conference, which was held at Rhineland, Wisconsin, on November 11th, plans were perfected and activities started to this end.

The central district comprises Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan.

Moonshining and illicit selling of liquor has become practically a legal traffic in this lumbering region. This is a very effective way for the boss to fight organization work. Keeping the workers drunk and broke will keep them from thinking for themselves, and they will become meek and servile slaves for the lumber operators. This has been a great drawback in organizing these lumber workers. But once more, a group of lumber workers have come together in conference and devised ways and means to organize these workers. Plans were formulated to circularize this whole territory with literature and a strong organization campaign in all the lumber camps.

## Call for More Job Delegates

The conference decided that in order to make this organization campaign a real success at least 5,000

job delegates can be used in this territory. A motion was passed to send out a call for Finnish, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Hungarian, Jugo-Slovak and Austrian speaking members to come to this region and act as job delegates. The conference also elected a travelling delegate, and asked the support of all who could possibly come to help with the work of organizing these lumber workers. The conference decided that in order to make this organization drive materialize, education must be promoted on a large scale—camp meetings must be held—publicity and propaganda committees must be started and organize themselves in such a way that the whole territory could be reached with said propaganda.

With a live bunch of job delegates stationed in various camps and constantly promoting the organization, holding educational meetings, distributing literature, gathering data on the lumber industry, and co-operating with the various branch secretaries in this district, Lumber Workers' Union 120 would soon be on the map in the central lumbering region. Job delegates are what is needed, and needed at once.

## Eliminating R. R. Unionism

**T**HE latest thing in railroad unionism is the scheme of Wm. H. Johnston, president of the International Machinists' Union, by which the railroad shopmen's unions will become efficiency auxiliaries to the railroad companies, promising the corporations greater profits from union labor than can be squeezed from non-union labor.

This scheme, called a "Co-operation" plan, it is believed, will end the days of militant unions among the railroad shopmen and make them mere adjuncts of the administrations of the various roads. It is detailed in the railroad workers' weekly, Labor, of November 24.

The scheme is being tried out on the B. & O. railroad. The unions are hiring efficiency experts to show the roads how to get more work (and, incidentally, more profits) out of their members.

"The idea underlying our service to the Baltimore and Ohio," said Mr. Johnston, "may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large supply corporations, which have contracts with these railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-bricks, superheaters, stokers, or lubricating oil."

In other words, the International Machinists' Union will become a supply corporation to the railroads, supplying cheap, efficient union labor in competition with expensive inefficient non-union labor. That is, it will engage in the business of selling labor just as the other corporations may sell lubricants. It will compete in the market like any other commodity-selling organization, and engage to deliver more work for less cost than non-union labor can deliver.

Thus will the railroad corporations capture the railroad shopmen's unions and make profit-increasing appendages of them. And thus also will unionism be eliminated on the railroad. No wonder the railroad executives hail Johnston's plan as "statesmanlike"! Anything that defeats labor is "statesmanship" for them!

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## TIME RIPE FOR NEW UNIONISM

The trade unions all over the world are losing membership. This is as true of England, France, Italy and Spain as it is of the U.S.A. There is no doubt that post war depression, open shop drives, fascism, disruption, practiced by conservatives and communists alike; and reaction generally have contributed to these results; though lack of industrial solidarity and industrial unionism should not be forgotten. The latter most likely, more than anything else, made possible the membership decline of the labor movement the world over. Without them resistance was impossible.

But there is no use lamenting this decline. The thing to do is to offset it by a membership drive in behalf of a newer and better form of unionism. There are many workers awaiting such a unionism, as the reception given to industrial unionism well proves. But industrial unionism needs to be pushed. It needs compact, well-sustained and organized efforts in its behalf. And when the reaction against reactions comes, as it always does, industrial unionism will win out.

Hasten the day!





# The Potteries

Stoke-On-Trent, England



Photos sent by

WILFRED S. BRADDOCK.

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"Don't, for God's sake," writes Braddock, "say that Pittsburgh looks worse than this!"

Hundreds of low, bottle-shaped potters' ovens or kilns, with 15 to 20 fires in every one of them, pour out smoke. And so the fame that once was Pittsburgh's is now no more.

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Just now, the potteries are not going full blast, owing to the business depression. Otherwise the photos would look even worse than they do. Potters won't be frightened by smoke when they go to Hell—if they ever do!

The workers in the photo above are dippers at work glazing the ware.

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## On With Organization!

The war prisoners having been granted unconditional amnesty, the thanks of the I. W. W. are due to all who helped to achieve this end.

Now, then, on to Centralia, with its conspiracy, and California, with its injustices. Better still, on with the industrial organization of the working class everywhere, so that oppression may be no more!



join a labor union, and yet there are more members of the Industrial Workers of the World in California today than ever before. Mr. Capitalist has tried every trick to crush the I. W. W., but failed. He has failed because it is **One Big Union, a union of all the workers**, and as such it is invincible.

"An injury to one is an injury to all," is their motto. One for all and all for one. On the land and on the waters its membership is increasing; members are bringing in new members. **The I. W. W. has kept up with the times.** "As it was in the beginning" does not apply to the Industrial Workers of the World. Its members are progressive, they are ever studying how best to better their conditions, the majority are able to discuss the labor question either from a craft union, industrial union, or open shop point of view. They are ever on the watch to better the conditions of the working class, not just interested in a pie-card.

#### Looking for a Messiah

The working class is looking for a Messiah. Every age has had its messiahs and every age has crucified them. Mankind will not attain to the golden age of universal peace, justice and truth if it fails to inspire some men in each age to receive the anointment of messiahship and the crown of thorns.

The I. W. W. has worn the thorny crown for many years. Mocked, derided, spit at, crucified, still there are men with ideals high enough to be willing to wear that thorny crown. They are now languishing in prisons, and only because you, you wage slaves, have not got the guts to say "They must be freed." You are one who follows from afar. You are more to be despised than a Judas.

Get together, workers, get into the One Big Union, the only Messiah the workers can ever hope for, the Industrial Workers of the World. Perhaps you will have to endure crucifixion, you may be compelled to wear the crown of thorns.

We will not reach Industrial Emancipation on a smooth road, our feet will be torn and bleeding. how long the journey will take depends on YOU. Have you the courage of your convictions?

#### Begin the New Year Right

Will the commencement of this, the new year, see you shouldering your share of labor's cross? Will you be in the front rank of the fighters, or will you follow from afar? Will you help make the battering ram which will break down the prison doors and free the workers, or will you cry, "Crucify Them"?

Be a man, take out a card in a union of your class; link yourself with the I. W. W., and hasten the day of Industrial Emancipation when the workers will enjoy ALL the fruits of their toil, when

## Fear, The Modern Malady

IN New York City the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie is conducting a clinic for the cure of "unbearable physical and nervous ailments." An article in the December Current Opinion tells of the more than two thousand cases treated therein. It contains these startling statements:

"Young men who looked as if they had never known a day's sickness have made the most amazing confessions. The word on most of their lips has been 'fear'—fear of responsibility, fear of insanity, fear of crowds, fear of the open."

This is symptomatic of bad nervous conditions. They, in turn, are symptomatic of bad social conditions. Men and women are harrowed, worried and oppressed, with bad results. We live in an age of war, panic, bankruptcy, starvation, revolution, crime, murder and suicide, such as was never known before. On top of it all, is reaction, more hideous in its White Guards and Mussolini's, its militarization, threats of greater wars and collapse of civilization, than all the evils already named.

Under the circumstances, is there any wonder that men become neurotic and afraid!? With society hanging in the balance, is mental unbalance impossible of explanation, an illogical phenomenon? Why should men assume responsibility amid such affairs? Why should they not fear for their own mental and personal safety, and know not which way to turn in such a society? Especially, when they have been taught heretofore to look to the many brilliant genuises of capitalism who have led society into this awful mess, for guidance and salvation?

These are times that need MEN, lion-hearted, iron-nerved and big-brained men; men of great social vision and international determination. There are such men all over the world, sick, not of the victims of a bad order of society, but of that society itself. They make plain that, if a complete social physical and mental breakdown is to be avoided, the present capitalist system of production for profit must be destroyed. This system is basically the cause of war, worry and all the other unsound phenomena that find relief, but never cure, in the new churchly clinics.

#### THE COAL "PROBLEM"

The coal problem is again before the house. This problem consists in advancing prices more than wages and getting away with it. There is talk of a strike, but the real "strike" is that of the operators against all concerned, miners and consumers alike.

wars shall be no more and peace shall reign, good-fellowship will prevail, and a universal people established on earth, "world without end."



# Economic Background of the Ku-Klux-Klan

By HUBERT LANGEROCK

THE KKK is with us and, while industrialists do not share in that crude pragmatism which stays satisfied with the stupid formula that everything that is right, it will not do to dismiss its existence without a sober scrutiny of its background. As a social phenomenon, the KKK is too bulky to be referred to one single cause. The reasons for its existence are many and more or less uneven in their potentiality. Roughly they may be divided into economic and non-economic causes and the latter being secondary in their importance can be briefly mentioned before we attempt to bring to light the main economic reasons.

## Fraternalism

First, the Klan is a lodge and, as such, it is not an isolated phenomenon but must be considered as one more term in a series called fraternalism.

To the shallow mind who fails to see what lies behind fraternalism, economically and psychologically, the cheap mystery and mummerly of the lodge appeals in the very proportion that it becomes more uncanny. The simpleton who enjoys that kind of claptrap will always fall for something more weird than what he has known before. So, after the comic opera uniforms of the older orders have lost their attraction, the bedsheet regalia of the Klan appears as a decided innovation. Besides in that domain, fashions are the order of the day. There is a steady demand for a higher degree of silliness after preceding stunts have grown stale.

Not only is the Klan in line with the institution of fraternalism, in its array of titles and costumes but also in its attitude towards the political state.

## State Supremacy

Our professional Americans and those who limit themselves to repeating their vaporings have a good deal to say about the necessity of maintaining the supremacy of the state in the loyalty of the citizen. Loyalty to the state, they claim, must be supreme and above class loyalty. Unfortunately for them, the day has never been when the lodge did not try to infringe upon the state. In spite of their funny dress parades and their financially unsound benevolence, lodges would not be the power they are today if they had not effectively and successfully deprived the political state directly or indirectly of some of its authority and compelled it in many instances to approve the decisions taken in the secrecy of the various lodge rooms.

In both these domains, the Klan has not created something new, it has merely accentuated an already existing tendency.

## A Selling Campaign

Another reason for the success of the Klan was its selling campaign. In its early days fraternalism was strongly critical of the middlemen of commerce. Today lodge memberships are sold by as rabid and noisy men and methods as any wildcat stock promotion.



When Mr. Clark set out to sell the Klan at its bargain rate of ten dollars a head, he conceived a plan of campaign which took in every available prospect in the country and he created an organization to carry out his scheme. Organization properly carried on will accomplish anything it sets out to do. Let me perfect an adequate organization and I shall fill huge auditoriums to listen to a Billy Sunday or to look at an African baboon. Regardless of the nature of the attraction, organization will fetch the crowd.

The Klan was well sold. Its organizers knew their business. If colored strikebreakers were brought into a town, the AFL membership were canvassed and they generally fell for the talk of white supremacy. If white strikers put the commercial middle class to some inconvenience, out went the familiar Ti-Bo-Tim postcard stating one of the purposes of the order to be: "Preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators."

These high power campaigns by conscienceless salesmen who are after the fee and do not care for the organization or its principles carries its own penalty.

## Claims Big Membership

The Klan claims two and a half million members and that number is fairly accurate if we limit ourselves to the applications received and accepted; but only one-fourth of the initiated stay with the organization as active members. For various reasons the rest drop out.



Some people are anxious to become members of the Klan. Bootleggers who want to cover up their tracks vie with professional politicians to get on the Klan band wagon. The professional politician is about as contemptible an individual as we are able to discover in America. He switches his allegiance every time he expects a funeral at the state house. In his private life, he may be a libertine or a degenerate but, before the crowd, he must parade his allegiance to all the tenets of conventional christian-capitalist morality. If some gang achieves power for the time being, he must try and join it. Some of the highest officials in the federal and state governments have applied for admission to the Klan on their own motion.

From a nationalistic point of view, the Klan may be said to have fallen heir to one of the main traits of middle-class Americanism, the tendency to mob action.

### **The Mob Spirit**

The mob spirit which went together with the westward expansion of American capitalism was always dominated by the puritan spirit of intolerance and bigotry. As long as a large geographic sweep made it possible for groups or individuals disagreeing with their neighbors to move on, as they were usually encouraged to do, no immediate clash resulted but things came to a focus when the free land was exhausted and native-born and recent immigrants had to live together in a limited space.

Haunted by the possible competition of the newcomers, the middle class sought to hide its will to power under a kind of moralistic cloak directed against anything or anybody who laid claim to more intelligence and culture than the native-born citizen of Main Street.

To bring about that apotheosis of its own mediocrity, the middle class was willing to form psychological crowds acting in violence to all forms of established legality.

Again, from this point of outlook, the Klan did not innovate, it merely emphasized an existing tendency.

The same is true about the clericalism of the Klan.

### **Rampant Clericalism**

America is today one of the worst clericalized countries in the world. The intolerant spirit of the early puritans is still alive and has only changed its outside appearance.

All our constitutional dispositions as to religious freedom are a dead letter. There is no religious freedom outside of organized Christianity. Let those who doubt this statement consider what happens to a non-christian who tries to run for office. The constitutional disposition prohibiting appropriations for sectarian purposes is daily violated in letter and in spirit. State and Church overlap in their functions and attributions. American life is dominated by an ecclesiasticism of which, as Mencken states, the country has no reason whatever to be proud. All official civic gatherings open with prayer. No official commission is complete without a churchman in its membership, although the latter is nearly always

absolutely incompetent. Religious tolerance is on the decline. The Billy Sunday revivals forced members of certain denominations to sell their property at a loss and move to other localities. Here again the Klan took one more step forward in an already existent direction.

### **Anti-Catholicism**

Ever since the earliest immigration into the U. S., there existed a prejudice against Roman Catholics whose basis is economic. Protestantism is a form of Christianity adapted to the mentality of the self-employed and the commercial middle class. The primary economic character of that class was the use of competition. They were individualists and, as such, could not agree on anything positive or constructive. Their moral life was like their economic life, broken up into competing fractions. In religious matters, they scattered into over two hundred sects. The latter, being unable to agree on any positive common rule of conduct, soon learned to use a kind of rule of thumb. They might not be able to agree on what to do but whatever the Catholics did, that was the way to be avoided.

For many years the middle class socially ostracized the Catholics to such an extent that those of the latter who landed in the middle class economically changed their religion as well.

A change in this condition of affairs was brought about by the Taft administration. Political socialism reached its high water mark about that time and the President and his Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham, were led to believe that the Catholic church could stem effectively the rise of political socialism. The church at once launched its campaign and one of its features was a confidential interchange of information between the Knights of Columbus and the Department of Justice.

Conscious of their new found usefulness to the cause of capitalism, the Catholics began at once to claim their place in the social sun. They had a strong organization and made decided inroads on an economic domain which had so far been practically monopolized by the Protestants. Thus a new organization faced the merchants and the professional men and the latter resented it.

We can thus notice that underneath the religious prejudices of the middle class there lurks an interest which is of a decidedly economic nature. Let us now consider the causes for the existence of the KKK which are of an openly economic or material nature.

### **The Economic Causes**

These causes include mainly the right to exploit the foreigner and the scramble for the liberal professions, especially law and medicine.

The frame of mind in which the hundred per cent American emerged from the patriotic jag of war hysteria can be traced directly to the attitude of the South towards the negro. The nativist carried over into his treatment of the foreigner the psychology of the dominant race. His purpose was to hide capitalist exploitation under a cloak of racial superiority.



The negro has in recent years adopted a policy of direct economic action by withdrawing his labor power from the southern market and the very men who for years had bemoaned his presence in their midst were the first to protest and to try to stop the exodus. The south never wanted the negro to leave. It merely wanted to scare him into accepting low wages, half of which could be paid in worthless store orders.

The nativist, after the war, intended acting on the same lines. The Wall Street Journal gave the whole show away when it stated editorially: we must keep the alien influx down, not out.

The vested right which the nativist wanted to establish in his favor failed to materialize. The so-called foreigners knew that they constituted the industrial proletariat of machine industry, the personnel of the leading form of production. They were conscious of their rights, they had tasted some of the fruits of organization here and abroad, they knew that in international law, they were entitled to the status of the most favored nation under existing treaties and their refusal to sanction the vested right which the nativist was trying to establish caused the attempt to collapse. The nativist had to back up and to accept the fact that he could not exploit the foreigner economically on national grounds.

One of the reasons of this failure was the fear of large scale industry that such an attempt might jeopardize its own exploitation of the foreigner on merely economic grounds. They could see their privileges endangered by the attempt to carry into force mainly to the advantage of merchants and professional men, a secondary form of nationalistic exploitation.

### Big Capital Uses KKK

Big capital used the middle class organized in the Klan to do its dirty and lawless work, to form the pickhandle brigades and the citizens' committees and the packed juries but, when it came to material rewards, the Klan had to be satisfied with hollow words of praise, a cheap monkey money which buys nothing in the market.

Still, in this case, experience has not been a teacher. Some of the victims of the Klan are still active at the game and the expected rewards are still as far away as ever.

It takes a middle class bourgeois fighting for his economic existence to feel and understand the power of capital and that is the reason why, if he manages to survive or achieves a modicum of success in business, he does not want his children to follow his line of work. The dream of the middle class father is to land his son in the liberal professions. The latter are exceedingly overcrowded to such an extent that many of their members are not earning a decent living. It is a constant practice today that a boy in order to make a start, as a doctor or a lawyer, must have besides his education, a small independent income. In case of success, the income may not be longer needed but the vast majority never reach the stage where they can do without it.



HIS NEW DECORATION

—The Industrial Worker.

We can now fathom the disappointment of the bourgeois father who finds out, after all those sacrifices, that the members of an alien race are able to come along penniless and through sheer ability, outstrip the coddled offspring of the American bourgeois. Four or five generations of American shopkeepers work up to the grand climax where a scion of the family is going to be a lawyer and when the lad reaches college he meets a Jewish boy on whose trunk you can still find the steerage labels that were pasted on it when his folks came over from the old country.

### Anti-Semitism—Its Origin

Twenty years ago, any American would have been ashamed to speak in an intolerant way about the Jewish race. Today, the vast majority of the American middle class is anti-semitic for the same reason that makes anti-semites of the middle class all over Europe, viz., because the Jew, through his native qualities, outstrips the nativist in the professions and fills them with larger success and in numbers far greater than the quota to which he would be entitled if it was based upon the numerical strength of his race in the general population of the country.

Another reason for the presence of the Klan is somewhat more intricate.

At the bottom of the opinions and convictions of the radicals of all schools, there lies a question of survival. Class consciousness is not only a dissatisfaction with existing conditions which leads to attempts to overthrow them, it is also a philosophy of life, a regulator of human conduct. The class conscious proletarian tests the dictates of his capitalistic masters, their teachings from the point of view of their practicability and their bearing on his own chances of survival. To be class conscious is to be wise to the stale and bewhiskered platitudes peddled by capitalistic hirelings. By the results of such an attitude, the proletarian is able to regulate his behavior in a way where he can manage to survive by the expense of a minimum of energy. Class consciousness in every-day life means the saving of energy, that energy which the capitalistically-minded worker dissipates in the acts



that are to the master's liking but have no usefulness to himself. To put the whole thing in a nutshell: there is survival value in class consciousness and a social behavior based thereon.

#### Copy Master's Moral Code

Nobody realizes this better than the simpletons who accept capitalistic teachings as economic gospel. Those fellows practice all the virtues of the master's moral code and the majority of them wait for their reward in vain. They are thrifty, some of them give of their substance to keep up the master's pet schemes, they ape their economic overlords in their silliest poses and attitudes without a sense of personal satisfaction or a consciousness of reasonable behavior. They are unable to defend themselves against their own emotions cleverly played upon by the efficient specialists whom the master maintains for that purpose. There is bound to come a day in their lives when they realize that they are the victims of a fallacy, that they have been squandering their energy in valueless pursuits. But they do not acknowledge their mistakes. It takes a man to admit a mistake and to change his attitude accordingly. Their spite remains, they are compelled to admit the survival value of class consciousness in the practical things of every-day life and it becomes their purpose to force the dissenters to abide by their own rules, not as a matter of moralistic fervor but because such an act puts others by compulsion in the unfavorable position in which they realize that they are themselves. Thus they try to establish in their own favor a leveling down towards an equality in mediocrity.

That function is now being fulfilled by the Klan. As an organization, it is interfering with the private morals of outsiders, meting out punishment for acts which the law fails to condemn, theoretically in the name of a moral principle, but in reality to deprive the more advanced thinkers of the benefits of their wisdom and force them back with themselves in the ranks of those who accept as gospel truth all forms of capitalistic humbug.

The reader may verify the accuracy of this general statement by applying it specifically to any concrete issue of his own choice.

#### A Middle-Class Affair

In conclusion we may state that the Klan is a middle-class affair but that it is not likely that that class will in any way be allowed to derive any kind of benefit from all the cowardly outlawry hidden behind its regalia.

Capitalism has got the drop on the Klan through its economic power.

The Klan practically controls the state of Oregon. Middle-class votes put it in power. Yet it has nothing to show in the line of achievement that could be considered as favoring the interest of the farmer or the small merchant, but its leadership is closely in alliance with electric light and power corporations, and it is generally ad-

## Who Wrote "The Awakening"?

**A**NENT the poem, "The Awakening," attributed to Rudyard Kipling, and appearing in our November issue, the Pioneer has received some letters questioning its authorship; and claiming that it is not in accord with Kipling's imperialistic views; nor is it to be found in his published works. As a Dartmouth college student puts it:

"The fourth stanza, beginning—

Dividends, rent and interest

Chicanery, lies and brag—

These are the gods of Empire

Their symbol—the British flag—

is great stuff, but not Kipling's usual line."

However, we refer this reader and all others to Upton Sinclair's anthology, "The Cry for Justice." Therein will be found data going to show that Kipling has been guilty of indiscretion, in that he has, once or twice in his lifetime, written proletarian poetry, now suppressed.

But, all this notwithstanding, let it be said candidly, The Pioneer really doesn't know whether Kipling wrote "The Awakening" or not. The Pioneer got it, through a free use of the editorial shears, from another labor journal or magazine. Its name can't even be recalled, such is the Pioneer's haste to give its readers something stimulating to read—with a success that was entirely unexpected.

However, the question remains, who wrote "The Awakening"? If Kipling didn't, who did?

## Read and Act

**D**IRECTED reading requires a constant effort of will and develops character. There is hardly a more difficult task than reading with care and application. He who can read and understand that which will benefit him has the power to free himself from those who enslave him.

Let us apply ourselves relentlessly to the task of reading those things which will do us good.

If we would free ourselves from our masters we must learn to become masters of ourselves. Emancipation will come but slowly to those who do not pave the way by strengthening their character through restraining their impulses and directing their energy into fields of constructive thought.

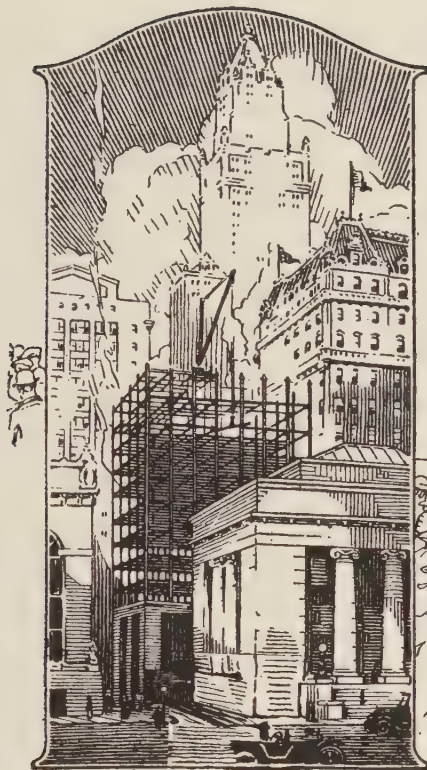
Let us read, relentlessly, resolutely, alertly, those things which will teach us how to take and hold that which is ours. Let us understand what we read and act upon it! As we act upon it we become men! (TR-1354.)

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mitted by those who are in a position to know that the main result of Klan control will be the transfer to private ownership of nearly all the available water power in the state.

Wherever the Klan may achieve political power it will by the very logic of things as they are and the predominance of the economic motive be compelled to strike the same attitude.





## BIG CITIES TO GROW BIGGER

The drift of population is from the country to the city. There are now more workers in the factories than on the farms. And the prospects are that in the future cities will grow ever larger; so will the need of industrial unionism to make them fit places to work and live in. Spread the gospel of industrial unionism in the big cities, as there is where the big armies of converts must be made, if labor is to win in the struggle with modern giant capitalism, which the big city symbolizes.



# The Wonders of Modern Science

**Their Possibilities Surpass The Dreams of Man And Presage, For The Future, Revolutions Of A Startling Nature.**

**J**UST before his late lamented death, Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz created something of a furore by predicting the coming of the four-hour workday in the century just ahead of us. The prediction served to call attention to the marvellous possibilities of electricity, which, according to its devotees, is only at the beginning of a career full of extraordinary industrial changes; among which a super-power capitalism is only one of the most prominent. The prediction also served, for the time being, to overshadow great achievements and great possibilities in other fields of science; in chemistry particularly. But now that Steinmetz is dead and the perennial 10-days' wonder has somewhat worn off the novelty of his views, it is possible to take a glimpse at these other phases of science and to speculate upon their bewildering tendencies and outcome; to the benefit of all concerned.

First there are the experiments to "burn coal twice," with which the name of Henry Ford is linked as promoter and financial backer. This is a process evolved by Emil Piron, a chemist, and V. L. Carachristi, a consulting engineer. In it soft coal is partly carbonized with a gentle heat, with the result that the usual "coal-tar products" are recov-

ered, so it is claimed, in greater quantity than when fully carbonized with great heat; and yet leaving some of the "life" in the fuel thus treated to be burned again.

By this new process, it is claimed, cheap gas, cheap gasoline, cheap fuel oil, cheap fertilizer and cheap coke are possible. The gas will be suitable for illumination, the gasoline for automobiles, the fuel for engines, the fertilizer for farms, and the coke for furnaces.

### A Revolutionary Thing

This new process is claimed by Ford engineers to be such a revolutionary thing that power plants all over the country must come to it; and as gasoline is derived from this method of distillation at a cost of only six cents a gallon, an inexhaustible source of cheap gasoline will be established.

It is said of Ford himself that, with the new process in use at his own plants, "where he is making 8,500 cars a day now he will be able to make 15,000. Instead of an expensive coal he will be able to use a cheap coal. And the coke that will result from the first burning will be of such a character that he will be able to make his own steel."

Ford has already spent more than a million dol-



lars in assisting experimental work. He is putting his money in the new process, and his technical staff is helping to perfect it. He is now spending \$5,000,000 to establish the process in his River Rouge plant at Detroit.

"Burning coal twice" appears to have many economic revolutions involved in its general adoption. First, it will act, together with electricity, in reducing the need for miners. Second, in its creation of cheap gas and gasoline it will affect the light and oil monopoly and industry, undermining the first and displacing labor in the second. With it a success, the dependence of national commerce and welfare on oil will vanish and with this dependence will go one of the greatest causes of war. Third, it also threatens the supremacy of hydro-electric power, just as the latter threatens the existence of steam as a motive force. Thus "burning coal twice" forecasts more unemployment for miners and oil producers, while menacing mining, oil and electricity, in general. It also does away with the struggle for petroleum and thus contributes to world peace. Its many possibilities are revolutionary, indeed!

### Chemical "Insanity"

Now let us turn from "burning coal twice" to other phases of chemistry and engineering, as expressed by Irenée du Pont. He says that it seems like insanity to predict the coming achievements of chemistry; after which he proceeds to make a few very interesting predictions himself. According to him some of the possibilities of the future in the chemical field, include among them, synthetic food, artificial wool, the conquest of disease, the entire or partial abolition of sleep, storage of solar heat, heatless light, cheap fuel and greatly prolonged mental and physical vigor in the course of human life. Now that surely looks like an insane man's ravings. But so did the possible achievements of electricity before the days of Steinmetz.

If we speculate upon the possibilities of chemistry these "ravings" seem insaner than insanity. Imagine, if possible, the tremendous economic revolution involved in so feeding man that the results of eight hours sleep will be accomplished and the active existence of man will change from 16 hours to 24 hours a day! Then we will have not only perpetual insomnia but also perpetual human motion. The result will be to increase the labor supply 200 per cent at the most, when reckoned on an eight hour basis. Talk about unemployment! It will be ever with us then, overwhelmingly so!

And then reflect on what is likely to happen if "a vehicle which will absorb the heat from the sunlight and carry it to the point of production" is invented. This simple storage and transmission of solar heat will destroy mining entirely, do away with the necessity for burning coal twice and relegate super-power electricity to the scrap-heap! Phew! the possibilities of stored solar heat, staggers the imagination!

### Arabian Nights Outdone

And synthetic food! "Made of mountains of limestone and waterfalls that supply the chemical raw

## Oil and the Germs of War

**I**NDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY and Industrial Worker have both rendered the working class and the cause of peace a great service by printing serially Scott Nearing's "Oil and the Germs of War." Too long have works of this important nature been the reading of a few interested students. Too long have they reposed uncirculated in the libraries and book collections of their original buyers. It's time the workers knew the facts about the great monopolies that cause the pursuit of imperialist policies and result in the destructive worldwide wars of modern society.

Industrial Solidarity and Industrial Worker, in laying the fruits of the investigations of an accomplished scholar before common ordinary every-day working class stiff's have done them and the working class internationals a great service.

Buy "Sol" or, better still, subscribe for it and get all the issues containing "Oil and the Germs of War," besides a lot of other good material. \$2.00 a year or \$1.00 for six months. Address, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Or send \$4 per year, or \$2 for six months, to Industrial Worker, Box 1857, Seattle, Wash. Tell them to start you off with the Scott Nearing serial.

We'll have more to say about "Oil and the Germs of War" in future issues.

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materials and energy required to make sugars and starches" it does away with vegetation and farming! What will become of the farming class then? What reason for existence will the farmer-labor party then have? They will all then be replaced by revolutions—not bloody but chemical ones. Talk about the genie that were released from the bottle in the Arabian Nights, they are not in it with those that modern chemistry promises to let loose.

Of course, it will be argued that these are only the dreams of a scientist and, as such, not yet realized. But it is of such dreams that human progress is made. The possibilities of today are the actualities of tomorrow. This is especially so when they are of scientific origin and development. With such factors in their favor, their success seems assured in advance.

Great as man's progress has been in the past it promises to be still greater in the days to come. In fact, just now it appears to be gathering momentum for a great leap forward. With it should go a greater industrial organization of the working class, for without such an organization the subjugation of nature in the interests of mankind, as Steinmetz labored to make it, will redound only to the benefit of the few instead of the great majority.

There are great changes coming. Let us organize in anticipation of them.

**SUBSCRIBE FOR  
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER  
DO IT NOW!**

**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**



# Chicago

Hardin Wallace Masters

I had not known you before—  
Squalling giant of the West,  
With muscular toes dug deep  
Into the verdant prairie,  
Until the day your buildings,  
Like a great cabbage,  
Unfolded before me, leaf by leaf,  
And your running streets of people ;

A discordant hum of many bees,  
The thunder of heavens upheld by trees  
Of steel; rushing holocryptic waves of seas,  
The loom of tragic faces weaves.

All of this, and more,—  
Fenced in by perforated stone,  
Grand Canyons of Cement.  
Seemed to be a holocaust of souls,  
And having in their fury spent  
A futile rage upon their captors.  
Departed, resorted to this mask-like face  
Of stone, the open windows cadaverous eyes,  
Leering with imperturbable intent.  
Small tongues, flickering in the light;  
Imprisoned hands, waving at the sun.



## The Widow

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

TWO babes to feed, two little girls, one two the  
other three;  
I got my eats at the restaurant and ten bucks  
salary;  
I paid five for my housekeep room, and with the  
other five  
I hadda buy food, clo'es and gas to keep my kids  
alive.

Two babes to feed, but I did it, honest and straight  
as a string,  
But, as you might well imagine, I never laid by  
a thing.  
Two kids to leave every morning alone in that room  
till night  
With a casual peep from a neighbor to see if they  
were all right.

Slaving and scrimping and pinching, I kept myself  
free of "tick,"  
But the measles were making the rounds and my  
little Molly got sick.  
I hadda stay home and nurse her, and Sally she  
took it, too,  
With dope a dollar a bottle—and nothing to see  
us through.



Say! have you sat in the gloaming a-praying as  
hard as you could,  
With kids dying for lack of medicine and the cup-  
boards empty of food?  
When the druggist refused to trust you and the  
neighbors ceased to lend,  
And in all the wide, drear city you hadn't one real  
friend?

With the rent due in an hour, and strictly in  
advance,  
And a fiend who showed how to get it 'neath a  
painted smirk and glance?  
With the light a-growing dimmer, and a child's  
moan in the gloom?—  
—Well! what is the use of talking . . . I paid the  
rent for the room!

They needed the dope and I got it; the best of  
doctors, too;  
With the help of the de'il and his dollars I tried  
to pull them through;  
But the curse of lust seemed with me; I waged a  
losing fight;  
And I stood bedecked in my paint and shame and  
watched them die last night.

I am a thing attainted, accursed and alone,  
Never a virtuous woman but would cast at me a  
stone;  
Never a man that bought me but holds me a creature  
vile—  
Yet I sold myself for my children, and cloaked  
heart-break with a smile.

Yea, I knelt in my agony and prayed to God up  
above;  
Ah, sure if the angels could see my heart, they read  
my mother-love;  
But never a sign to help me, never a body came—  
And tonight I kneel beside my dead, a woman of  
ill fame.



**BOOST THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**



# Other People's Kids

By EVA PILLSBURY

YOUNG Tom Evans had to quit school and go to work at the surface of the mine as a "breaker" boy. His father, Old Tom Evans, worked down in the mine. Young Tom was only thirteen, but he had to say that he was fourteen in order to get a "work paper." He got by all right, for they don't bother to investigate these matters.

Young Tom didn't get on in school anyway, for there was never really enough food on the Evans breakfast table to satisfy a growing boy, and of course, a hungry boy can't study well.

As a breaker boy, one picks out the chunks of coal with slate mixed in them, from the mass of crushed coal rushing past down a moving belt, from the top of the breaker towering overhead. Not dangerous work but unpleasant, for the coal dust gets into one's eyes and lungs, and the slate is sharp and makes one's hands bleed.

When young Tom got home that first night and told his mother that he had earned \$2.00, she only looked at his bleeding hands and cried. Women are queer that way.

After a few months, Young Tom got a job down in the mine as "trapper boy." The work was not hard and paid a little more.

All he had to do was to stand in the darkness or semidarkness, opening and closing doors, for the coal cars to pass out and back.

Sometimes the dampness made him shiver. Then he thought of the warm supper that would be ready for him when he got home.

But his mother was thinking of her boy down in the dark damp mine where no sunshine ever is, and often she cried. Young Tom didn't know that, though Old Tom suspected it. But what can a man do with six hungry children to feed?

Young Tom proved so reliable that by and by the foreman gave him a job in the "robbing section", and then he was indeed proud though somewhat nervous about it. The robbing section is where the last of the coal is cut away from the pillars and walls. Sometimes the roof falls in before the miners have a chance to get out. Of course, the laws of the state say positively that no boys under sixteen can do such work; but the foreman didn't ask Young Tom anything about his age. The boy was useful and he needed him.

The Evans family had more to eat now. They managed to catch up on the grocery bill, and Young Tom's mother got him some warm underclothing to keep him from shivering down in the reeking darkness of the mine. And then—the "irony of Fate."

Between the choking coal-dust that would get into his lungs and make him cough, and the darkness and dampness of the mine, Young Tom presently got into a bad way. He lost his appetite, and though his mother piled his plate high with

potato and meat and gravy, he just sat silently and wondered why it made him sick to look at the stuff.

When he had crept off to his bed in the little windowless attic where he and his three brothers slept, his mother listened to his coughing and the corner of her kitchen apron got damp with tears.

One day Young Tom fainted in the mine; dropped like an old man who is worn to exhaustion. They brought him up and sent him with his father to the company doctor, who looked at him, felt of him, tapped his chest.

"Mustn't work for a while," he said. "Take him home and take care of him. Feed him up with eggs and milk. Plenty of sleep in good big room with lots of fresh air. He'll come out all right. Trouble has only just started."

Then he gave them a prescription to have filled for Young Tom. The medicine cost Old Tom \$2.50.

Young Tom stayed at home two weeks. Said he felt better and so returned to work. His mother watched him from the window that morning, and when he was out of sight she crossed the room, and dropped on her knees by the old bed lounge, clutching the patchwork cover in her two work-calloused hands.

"God," she said, "why do little boys like that have to work till they drop? Only just the other day he was my baby! Isn't there any other way but this? Oh, God, isn't there?"

But God didn't answer, though He must know just where the trouble lay.

Young Tom worked a month and then came home, knocked out.

One can't hope to do much for a tubercular case in an environment that welfare workers would term "highly unsatisfactory."

So things didn't get any better.

One day a district nurse came to investigate. "All wrong," she said, "all wrong!" and went away. Then a welfare agency sent its representative. "Hospital," she urged.

"No," said the mother of Young Tom, "I'll take care of him myself; he's mine."

A committee went to the big mine-owner,—the man whose millions had come out of that black hole in the ground—where Young Tom and his father and thousands of others had wrought their bitter task for their pittance of bread. They found the man in his splendid suite of offices, at his mahogany desk.

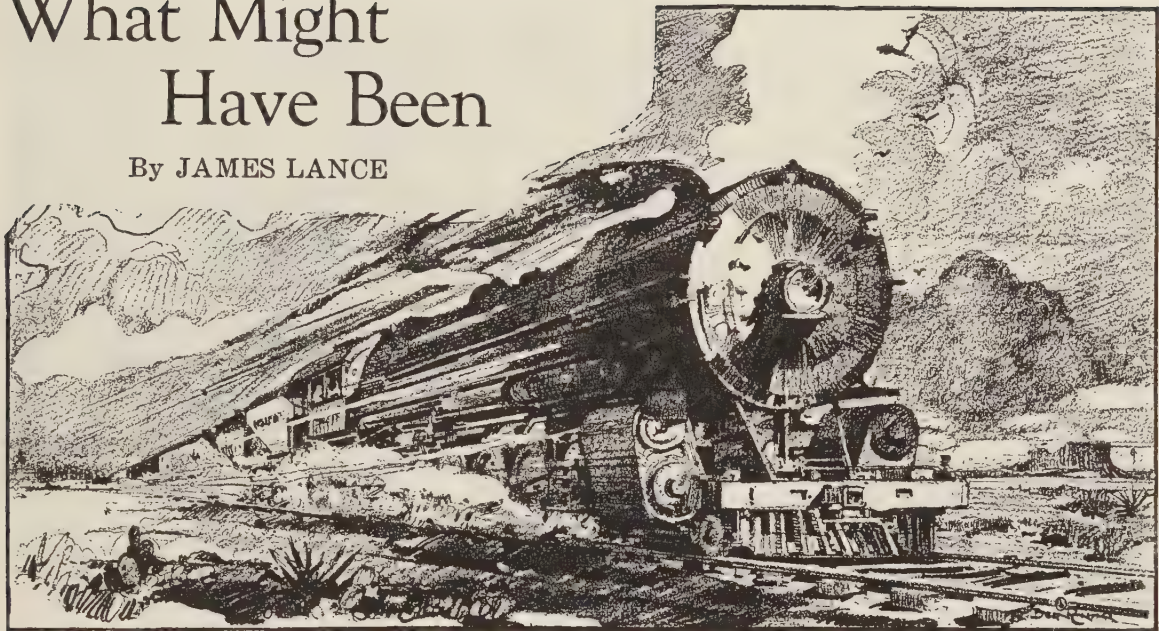
"Can't you do something for the boy?" they asked. "He broke down at the mine. Probably it isn't too late yet, if he could have the right treatment."

The big man straightened back in his chair. He pounded on his desk.



# What Might Have Been

By JAMES LANCE



**Foreword:** The following story is the writer's conception of the consequences which might have followed the refusal of the train and engine men of one of the transcontinental railroads to take the trains out of a certain division point in the Southwest during the shopmen's strike in 1922.

Everyone familiar with the incident around which this story is written will agree that marvelous things would have resulted had the rails of the rest of the country shown the solidarity the writer has credited them with. You may not agree with the writer's conception. However, here is the tale.

**G**REAT excitement prevailed in the little town of Cuchara. There were more people in town that day than in the memory of the oldest inhabitant. He—by the way—had only been there a few years, for Cuchara was of recent growth and existed solely because the Pacific and Gulf had to have some place to change train and engine crews.

Necessity was and could have been the only excuse for locating a town in such a region. Midway of the great southwestern desert, a hundred oddfeet below sea-level, blistered by scorching sun, never knowing that fresh, lively feeling which follows a shower, isolated from the rest of the world, except when a train stopped for a few minutes, Cuchara represented the absolute zero in places to live.

Its population was less than two hundred—only those who were absolutely necessary to the operation of the railroad. Tourists never broke their journey there, no wave of wild excitement such as follows the discovery of oil or gold, ever awakened its inhabitants from that peculiar lethargy which is to be

found in desert-dwellers everywhere. There was even a dearth of cowpunchers and sheepherders, those sons of the West who are to be found in nearly every town of that great open space; even a prospector was hardly ever seen prodding his burros along the dusty street—no one except the slaves of the genii of steam.

But today the scene was different. Everywhere could be seen groups of people, people who by no stretch of the imagination could be made to fit into such a picture as Cuchara presented. Women—dozens of them—children, scores, little and big—men—not railroaders—oh no, no one could think that those well-fed, immaculately dressed specimens of the male sex had ever pulled a pin, thrown a switch, washed a boiler or tamped a tie; no railroaders, these. They were tourists—tourists who had been rudely awakened to the fact that their creature comforts were dependent on the men who lived in Cuchara and who until now had been to them merely cogs in the Great Pacific and Gulf machine that was carrying them across this inferno of heat and desolation to the shady forests and laughing brooks in the snow-capped mountains which rimmed the western horizon.

On all sides could be heard the hum of angry conversation, these people were angry, more than that they were exasperated. To think that they who had been assured of a delightful journey should have such discomfort thrust upon them was almost unbearable. First-class passengers on the De Luxe Special, people who had paid extra fare to insure themselves of every attention, marooned in such a

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"What is that to me?" he thundered. "I'm not responsible for what goes on at the mine!

"If the men there can't live on their wages, it's their own fault. I don't ask anybody to help me support my children!

"If a man can't take care of his own kids, he's got no right to have them! That'll be all today."

And the committee was waved away by a white hand adorned with a magnificent diamond, the price of which would have saved a life.



God-forgotten place—it was unthinkable—nevertheless, it was a reality.

They were here, forced against their will to endure the blistering wind and scorching heat just like common people—railroad slaves.

Never a thought for the men who had to endure this sort of thing every day. Never a word of commiseration for those whose lives were passed in these miserable surroundings that they and their like might be sped through the desert on upholstered seats, cooled by electric fans and attentively served by white-coated porters. Oh no, these people were giving voice to but one thought—the audacity of such men in forcing THEM to share for a little while the discomforts which were the usual routine of the railroaders.

One individual, a portly male, clad in a golf suit, checkered stockings and tweed cap, was particularly annoyed. He was, as he let everyone know, Judge Barnstone of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and he was sure—it was his legal opinion—that the railroaders were breaking every law that had ever been written around that interesting subject known as interstate commerce.

To stop a transcontinental train out in the desert and refuse to take it on its way again was a crime far worse than murder, piracy or arson. He knew—he told everyone—that this was the worst, the very worst crime ever committed in that region, long famous for its lawlessness of every description.

For that was what had happened. When the De Luxe Special had slid into the little desert division point early that morning and come to a stop in front of the Mission style depot there was neither crew nor engine to take it westward. The men had gone on a sympathy strike with the shopmen who had walked out a month previous.

They declared that the equipment was no longer safe and that furthermore their lives were threatened every time they went through the yards by the gang of plug-uglies the company had imported to protect the scabs who were trying to take the places of the shopmen. Daily the situation had grown worse, the engines and cars were falling to pieces, the scab-herders were becoming unbearable and, at a meeting the night before the train and engine crews had voted to take no trains out of Cuchara until these grievances had been righted.

As a result Cuchara was a beehive of excitement. The number of angry tourists was increased by the arrival of the Californian, another crack limited, and later another one had rolled in from the east and added its cargo of joy-seekers to the disgruntled multitude who were wandering aimlessly around the little desert town cursing the men responsible for their predicament.

The indifference displayed by the railroad men seemed to them the worst feature of the whole matter. The rails acted as though people who rode on trains during a strike were not entitled to any consideration. Down at the Darby house, the hotel and dining room operated by the railroad company, one of them had told Judge Barnstone that he might as

well get used to it, because he would be there long enough to vote unless the company came through with the strikers' demands.

He had intimated that the Hon. Judge would have been a better citizen if he had known enough to stay in New Jersey. He called on everyone within hearing to observe the fat frying out of the Hon. Judge, and to wonder with him, whether the judge had ever done a useful day's work. Why, the man actually told the judge that what was good enough for him was good enough for anybody, and added that he had been there three years and it hadn't killed him yet. Also he opined the judge was healthy enough—just fat and lazy—and that the experience wouldn't kill him.

Meanwhile, the officials of the Pacific and Gulf were frantically trying every means to get the trains out of Cuchara. Messages had been sent to the officials of the brotherhoods and finally word came that two of the "big men" of the unions were on their way to Cuchara to end the strike. Naturally, this news trickled out to the men, so when Number 5 pulled in they were not surprised to see Brown, of the Trainmen, and Sargent, of the Engineers, alight.

These officials immediately called a meeting which was attended by every rail in Cuchara. It was a riotous session. Brown made an eloquent speech calling on the men to forget their grievances and to protect the sacred contract. He declared that the battle of the shopmen was no affair of the trainmen, engineers, conductors or firemen. But to his surprise it fell on deaf ears. Even the local officials failed to support him in his plea. Everyone seemed to think that a limit had been reached and that this was no time to protect contracts, or scabs either, as they expressed it.

One man, a brakeman, told Brown and Sargent that their time was wasted in coming to Cuchara as the men had decided to get along without official interference and that for once in the history of railroad strikes in America, the rank and file were going to do the thinking.

Another man, this one a fireman, made an impassioned plea for solidarity, and, as this word was a new one in the vocabularies of most of those present, it required some explanation. When he got through it was decided that "an injury to one was an injury to all" and that this motto was applicable here and now.

Cries of, "We've had enough of scabs and scabbing," finally drove Brown and Sargent from the hall to telegraph the sad news of their failure to division headquarters at Alpine.

The division superintendent wired the president of the road and he took matters up with the governor of the state. The machinery of law was put in motion. Next morning six men who were pointed out as "ringleaders," among them the audacious "shack" who had razzed Judge Barnstone, were arrested and placed in the local calaboose. Still the men remained firm in their determination to get their demands, which now included the settlement of the shop strike.

Then, like thunder from a clear sky, came word





## A Railroad Center

Photos of

Ogden, Utah

Above, view of yards of Union Pacific, Oregon Short Line and Southern Pacific railroads, with viaduct at the left.



Center and below interior and exterior views of branch headquarters Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520, I. W. W.



that Aguas Calientes and Alpine had taken the same stand—no trains until the guards are removed and the equipment made safe. The news spread like wildfire along the entire system and before the dawn of the third day all the men in the train and engine service were out.

The entire Pacific and Gulf was tied up—not a train moved on its three thousand miles of track.

Far away in Washington the President of the United States was notified of the "revolt," for that was what the walkout was termed by the newspapers, and after a hurried session of the cabinet he ordered federal troops to entrain immediately for

active service in the strike zone.

Then the real strength of united railroad labor was demonstrated.

When the soldiers marched down to the yards at Kingsville, the largest army post in the southwest, they were politely informed that they'd have a hell of a time getting anyone to pull a train of soldiers on that road. Frantic, the commander sent word to Washington and a brigade was ordered from another fort. These met a like answer. No trains would be run to carry soldiers to the scene of trouble on the P. & G.

The American Legion volunteered to work the



trains, and this so incensed the railroad men that strike votes were taken on all the roads in the west and before the middle of the fourth day the entire western part of the country was paralyzed by the refusal of the men to run trains of any description until the shop strike was settled.

The sword had fallen. The day which the railway magnates had dreaded for years had arrived. Railroaders of every description laid down their tools and the General Strike on the railroads was on.

The fifth day saw the entire country tied up. Milk, mail, passenger, fruit, stock, coal and merchandise trains, fast trains and slow ones, main line and branch, were a thing of yesterday. The mole-hill of Cuchara had grown into the mountain of a complete railroad shut-down all over the entire country.

At first everything was quiet. Even in the larger cities there were scarcely any disturbances. Here and there some soldier or special detective stirred up trouble with some of the quicker-tempered among the strikers, but these outbreaks were like ripples on the surface of a placid pond. Everywhere the men sat tight and waited. Everywhere they seemed to realize that history was being made and the feeling seemed to subdue them.

The immensity of the situation struck terror to the hearts of the weaker ones but they were kept in line by those who saw that, united, the railroad men held the winning hand in the greatest game ever played in the New World. Never before had the like been witnessed, it was a magnificent hour for railroad labor. United they held the destiny of the nation in their calloused hands and at last they had awakened to the strength of unity.

The great railroad barons were holding conferences daily in New York City. Plan after plan was proposed and discarded. None of the oft-tried methods of ending a strike could be used in this instance. Each and every means successful before was useless now. "Divide and conquer," would not work this time because the men refused to be divided. Unity was the only issue the magnates could not meet. Well they knew the strength of unity.

For years they had fostered division among the men through the different brotherhoods and craft unions, for they had seen that united railway labor presented an unbeatable problem. Now they were face to face with the most dreaded and most feared—and helpless. The officials of the unions had failed them in the greatest crisis which had ever arisen, for the men had at last awakened to the fact that their officials were the tools of the masters and consequently refused to allow them to turn them from their purpose. So ended the fifth day.

Now the pinch of interrupted industry made itself felt. The large cities were the first to suffer. None of them had perishable foodstuffs sufficient to last long. Meat they expected to receive every day, likewise milk. The cessation of train operation made delivery in quantity impossible. Motor trucks and horse-drawn vehicles were requisitioned, but

these fell far short of supplying the need. The mills and factories depended on the railroads for fuel and raw material and the removal of their finished products.

On the sixth day of the strike, millions of workers were laid off. Industry in general was paralyzed. Still the railway magnates refused to acknowledge defeat. They were hopefully waiting for the first sign of weakness on the part of the men. Hourly the situation became more ominous. Idle throngs packed the streets of every city in the land, and everywhere people wondered how it was going to end.

Another conference of all the railway officials and directors was called, and the President was invited to attend. He came—not by train—even he could not make wheels revolve on rails then—but in an airplane. After a lengthy discussion at which nothing was accomplished, the conference adjourned to the Palace, one of the newest and most palatial hotels in the city, for a banquet.

Then was the power of the movement which had started in the little desert division town in the southwest revealed to them in one of its most significant phases. They had felt no matter what happened they need not suffer. The great "public" which their kept press howled about until the supplies of paper were exhausted was undergoing great hardships, that they knew, but they felt secure, exempt.

But when they filed into the great hotel they were met by the distracted manager and informed that, desolated though he was, he could not serve the banquet. In some mysterious manner the supplies had vanished; there had been a riot just at dark and he imagined that under cover of it the store-rooms had been looted.

As they were digesting this doleful news in lieu of the delightful meal they had expected, the magnates received another jolt. Every light in the building was snuffed out.

Even on the streets absolute blackness prevailed.

A hurried telephone call elicited the information that the fuel supply at the stations serving that part of the city was exhausted, and while connections with another one which had "white coal" was being made, there would be no light or power.

Aghast at this demonstration of the far-reaching effect of the withdrawing of railroad labor power, the magnates held another conference in the ball-room of the Palace. Candles and kerosene lamps shed a ghostly light on the scene, and the shadows cast had their counter parts in the hearts of those assembled.

Like snarling wolves they snapped and fought. Berryman, the president of the Pacific and Gulf, made a bitter, denunciatory speech anent the misery those "damned revolutionists" were inflicting on the country and demanded of the President immediate action. "Send cavalry, airplanes, dirigibles, tanks, gas-bombs—anything—only get those trains running again!" he cried. "One more day





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## IWW GENERAL CONVENTION GOT BEHIND CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE STEEL WORKERS

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of this and we shall be forced to admit defeat. And, gentlemen, you all know what it means to be defeated in a struggle like this!

"This is the beginning of the end. There will be no holding them! We must win or tomorrow will be that dreaded day we have been fighting against for years. Labor will know at last that it is the driving force, the motive power, and we—well, I think you all know where we will be."

Others including Beechman of the Stone Island and Giple of the Transcontinental, had spoken alike, and when Dillard of the Delaware and Ohio had made his speech the President arose and said:

"Gentlemen, I agree with you. We all seem to think alike. This is a momentous day for America. Something must be done, and at once. But this is a fearsome thing and I am afraid our airplanes, dirigibles, tanks or bayonets will not win this battle. This is something bigger than even the World War. Labor power alone can end this catastrophe, and those who possess that power seem disinclined to use it.

However, every precaution will be taken. I have ordered General Cursing to place the entire nation under martial law and to get as many army men as possible to run trains. Tomorrow we shall know! This state of affairs cannot continue! It means revolution. God himself can only tell where we are headed, but rest assured that I shall fulfill to the utmost the trust the nation has imposed on me. No stone shall be left unturned to end this calamity and return our fair country to its normal condition."

"Tomorrow we shall know!" So had spoken the president. And the events of the next twenty-four hours proved him correct. When the next day's sun was low in the western sky, they did know.

That brief span of time had shown even the most aggressive and domineering among the rail magnates that this time they had met a force which is unconquerable. Solidarity of Labor, used for the very first time in the history of American railroading, had shown itself to be an impregnable fortress against which dirigibles, gas-bombs, tanks or bayonets were as useless as slingshots against

Gibraltar. Behind this barricade—one of folded arms—labor was safe, and all the force that all the magnates could muster was as impotent as an attempt to sweep back the tides.

General Cursing and his army were check-mated; every city in the country was in a state of revolution; wild-eyed mobs tore through the streets breaking open warehouses containing food. All business was at a standstill. Eloquent soap-boxers held forth on street corners advising the workers to take control, not only of the railways, but of all the industries, until torn off their impromptu platforms by the soldiers.

In Chicago, a terrible conflagration had destroyed nearly the entire "Loop" district while the fire department stood helplessly by, unable to fight fire without water and lacking water because the power stations supplying the pumping plants were without fuel.

It was a day to be remembered till the end of life by those who shared its lurid moments. "Tomorrow we shall know!" Aye, that was a prophetic utterance.

That night another conference of the magnates was held and those who attended seemed not like the domineering masters of yesterday. They came with terror clutching at their hearts, with fear tracing its finger marks on every lineament of their faces, aged, broken, almost pitiable they seemed in their realization of defeat.

They came not to dictate—their day of dictatorship was over—none knew better than they that a new dictatorship had risen on the railroads. They were there in defeat and humiliation, there to offer almost any terms the victorious rails might demand. Only one thing they asked: That the men return to work and the railroads resume operation so that the system itself would not topple and carry them with it into oblivion.

Strong and ruthless in their hours of victory, these men were wise and shrewd in defeat, and they knew that as the cards lay they were beaten—for the time. Their foremost desire was to get industry into operation again. Delay meant final, irrevocable defeat, seizure of the industries by the working masses and abolition of private ownership,



# India's Emergence: Its Inconsistencies

**I**N November Industrial Pioneer, an item appeared calling attention to the fact that "The Industrial Review for India" "for promoting India's industrial development and foreign relations," published in English in Berlin, Germany, had reprinted in its September issue an article on labor banks that originally appeared in the August Industrial Pioneer.

The fellow worker in Berlin, Germany, an Indian, who brought this to the Pioneer's notice, now sends the Pioneer the following paragraphs from "The Industrial Review for India" in explanation of its policy:

"It is unusual for an industrial magazine to champion the cause of the working class, yet this Review has announced this as one of its intentions, and has begun to carry out this resolve in an article in the September issue on 'India's Industrialisation,—and some connected social problems.' The Review has a very direct and definite tendency; it is national; and within its national vision the peasants and the work-

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wage slavery and all the concomitant attributes of the system they had built up on the blood and tears of labor.

This they realized and their actions were dictated by motives of self-preservation. "Give them anything now—later we may find means of dividing and subduing them—but now, refusal means revolution, the loss of all the industries, and the overthrow of the entire scheme of things."

So had spoken Berryman and so it was decided. The great railroad strike was over. Solidarity of Labor had won as thinking workers had always known it would.

The effect was almost instantaneous. Engines were fired up, cars began to move, power houses received fuel, newspapers had their stock delivered, and before morning the news was broadcasted from every radio station, sent ticking over every telegraph, blazoned on the headlines of every newspaper and when the morning of the eighth day dawned the De Luxe Special slowly moved out of Cuchara into the mocking wilderness of the desert with a much wiser, thinner and more thoughtful crowd of passengers than had arrived there a few days before.

Judge Barnstone leaned over the brass railing of the observation car and angrily cursed the rails who waved him a derisive farewell. "Damned Reds" was his final comment. "I'm going to have a law passed in New Jersey to prevent a repetition of this outrage."



Twenty-four

ing class occupy a position of pre-eminent importance.

"'We believe,' one of its articles states, 'that no real progress is possible in our country without a thoroughly enlightened working class; we shall pay special attention to the question of organization and education of industrial and agricultural workers, with particular reference to vocational schools, co-operations, etc.'"

Our Berlin-Indian fellow worker goes on to say:

"Some of the nationalist organs in India occasionally give space to revolutionary labor propaganda even when they may not like the principles. For example, the *Indian Nationalist*, weekly of Bombay, gave the program and principles of the "Communist Workers' Movement"—the anti-Moscow (called 4th) Communist International "All Workers' Industrial Unionism"—as given in *The Workers' Dreadnought* of Sylvia Pankhurst of London.

"Not only that the *Indian Nationalist* (Oct. 13, 1923) gave it a place in the 'publicity' columns with definite address for further information of the movement. I believe that one of these days you will hear from India of some 'capitalist' firm republishing IWW literature and some Indian journal reproducing your articles with approval.

"That is possible in India because not only the working class but also the business classes are not quite class-conscious and strongly divided on political party principles there yet. The self-defensive national movement still keeps certain synthetic virtues which are long ago lost in the aggressive nationalism of governments in the western and other so-called 'Independent' countries. This is due to the fact that in India there is as yet no 'national self-government' and no 'parliamentary party-political rule.'

"Moreover, there are so many other divisions of long-established character, such as racial and religious divisions, which owing to the weakness created in all sections of the population—the bourgeoisie as well as the proletariat—are very much shunned, feared and abhorred by both today in India. And the national movement in India even more than in Ireland, is attempting—even if wrongly—to be the element for the abolishing of these divisions.

"Of course, the class nature of the Indian struggle for freedom will assert itself even earlier than the political class-cooperation nature of it will achieve anything like success. There is, and will increasingly overshadow, in India the class-struggle against the British imperial order.

"I believe also from my experience with the Indian movement for political liberation, that the break-up of the British empire and the liberation of the working class from politics and government will synchronize in India more than they will in any other country. Hence the two ideas or movements work together side by side without much friction in India."



# Scandinavia and Its Labor Movement

By C. G. ANDERSEN, Stockholm, Sweden

WHEN speaking of Scandinavia we must bear in mind that we are dealing with three countries, three different peoples, three different political entities. They differ primarily because of a different natural environment, combined with a slightly different economic and social development.

The Scandinavian people are generally slow and conservative. The climate in Scandinavia is, on the average, cold and vigorous during the larger portion of the year, (allowing for some difference between Denmark, the southern part of Sweden and the northern part of Norway and Sweden.) Due to that fact alone the inhabitants have been forced to wear heavy clothing practically the whole year around.

Any being, whether human or animal, is greatly hampered in its movements by its covering. As the brain processes are only a result of the external environment, and the physical action that it imposes upon us, then it naturally follows that, when a cold and rigorous climate only makes it possible to perform slow motions that the brain process also is slow or, as we say, conservative. That this is the true explanation of this phenomena is proven by the old sayings and jokes about the farmer, i. e., the hoosier, as compared with the city worker.

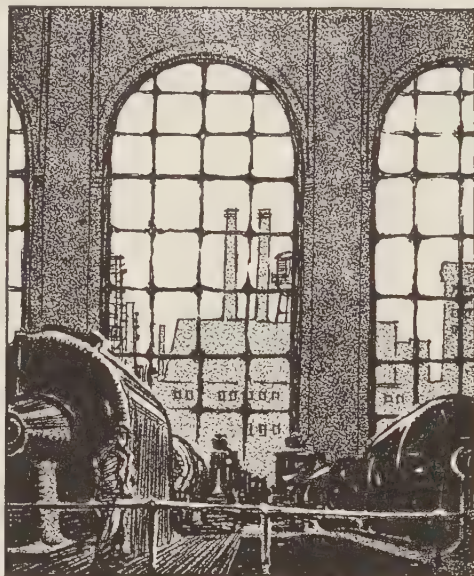
## Conservatism Blocks Development

The conservatism of the Scandinavian people explains the reason why, up to a few years ago, Scandinavia was, in comparison to Germany and England, for instance, very backward in capitalistic and industrial development. The rising, young and vigorous capitalism of the last century could not stand for an out and out conservatism, not even in Scandinavia. A number of individuals of different nationalities, consequently, were impelled, by that great motive force, profit, to invade the three countries and assist in exploiting them. The English built the first railroads and supervised their running until the Swedes learned how to run them themselves. The Poles and kindred nationalities came and developed the steel industry, while the Germans and Scotch started to do business.

Evolution does not allow pure races, and least of all evolution under capitalism. Hence we find that the Scandinavian of today is not a pure race. In some localities it is actually diluted up to 60 percent by other races. The typically tall, blond, blue-eyed type is disappearing.

## The Danish Labor Movement

Denmark has about 25 percent of the Scandinavian population. The latter today, numbers about 10,000,000 people. Denmark has no other natural resource than agriculture. The whole country is, practically speaking, a large dairy farm. It produces an immense amount of dairy prod-



SWEDISH SUPERPOWER.

ucts such as butter, milk, fresh and condensed, and cheese, the greater portion of which finds a ready market in England. Big capitalism has not yet been forced to enter that field, so the land and dairy owners have organized co-operative associations for their mutual benefit. Denmark is the land of co-operation.

As Denmark does not contain any other natural resource than the soil, it also follows that Danish capitalism has not offered any great chances for individuals of other nationalities bent on profit-hunting. This in turn would mean that of all the Scandinavian people, the Danes are the purest. Such is the fact, barring the city of Copenhagen, which is the only industrial, and consequently, cosmopolitan centre of any importance in the country.

## Copenhagen Big Center

The city of Copenhagen, which today numbers slightly more than a half a million inhabitants, is also the centre of nearly all transportation. Through that city the dairy products are exported and from there the imports are distributed. Hence we find that a large percentage of the industrial workers are marine transport workers, numbering approximately fourteen thousand. These are evenly divided into shore working marine workers and sea-going marine workers, or seamen. In this regard, Denmark is more evenly balanced than either Norway or Sweden, in which latter countries the sea-going marine workers outnumber the shore-working force.

The Danish workers are mostly organized. The Danish craft union federation boasts a membership of somewhat more than 100,000 members.



This includes a portion of the agricultural workers.

The Danish labor movement is a true miniature of the German labor movement as it was before the war. The whole membership is subject to the dictatorship of the social democratic party, which, through the labor officials in the craft unions, dictates the policy. In Denmark this is done with less opposition than in either Norway or Sweden. The party rules supreme.

Of course, both the communists and the syndicalists have tried to "buck" the party, but with no result. Today there is plenty of dissatisfaction amongst the workers against the social-democratic party dictatorship, but no organized move to overthrow it.

#### History of Danish Movement

The Danish labor movement has its own little history. It is about 35 years old. It was started by the more enlightened workers who labored practically on the economic field only. The craft unions thus came into existence. They, in turn, furnished an opportunity for the ambitious sons of small bourgeoisie. The latter saw a chance to secure a fairly decent living by becoming socialists and joining the party that grew up to fight for the interests of the working class.

We talk a lot nowadays about the Bolsheviks, but to any close student of the labor movement there is very little difference between the social-democrats and the Bolsheviks. It is all a difference in degree, not in kind. The Bolsheviks is a governing party as well as an executive party. In time of great economic pressure, as for instance in Russia, the party may have to do the whole governing job. As the pressure grows less, it will have to divide the governing of the workers with the industrial and financial capitalists everywhere.

In Russia today the communist party is only formally the all-governing body. In reality it is perhaps as much the international trusts that dictate under what economic and social conditions the workers shall live. So it is with the Social-Democratic party, even in Denmark.

#### Denmark's Storms

Denmark has been, at least lightly, buffeted by economic disorders and social storms in recent years. During that time the social democrats have been given the power to govern. That party has been able to govern the workers more efficiently than any other party. And why not?

The workers live on traditions. The members that are now secure and at ease as integral parts of a well-running machine, were at one time the champions of labor. Their voices are still listened to by large masses and as there is no other party of the workers representing a better idea and a better form of industrial organization in existence, of course the governing is easy.

True enough, the now senile federation and party had at one time its youth. The economic organization, under the guidance of the executive party, the social democrats, once fought by direct action for the eight-hour day. The party made it

a political issue. The eight-hour day was won and became a law. Minimum wage scales have also been fought for, won, and become laws. The politicians have worked hard to get power, now they are working hard to retain it.

Of course, all these laws are broken time and again, due to the fact that the economic life is too fluent in comparison with the workings of more primitive political apparatus.

#### Unemployment High

Denmark has, in normal times, about 230,000 industrial workers. But during the last few years unemployment has been so high as to affect 60 percent of them. At the present time, however, the percentage is fairly low.

The wild speculation of the Danish financiers was, to a great extent, the cause of this unemployment. The Danish capitalists had heavy investments in Russia, when Russia collapsed. They tried to prevent the Bolsheviks from getting in power, with the result that their capital was put into unprofitable undertakings, such as backing up Denekin and Kolchak and others.

These financial moves could only bring one result: unemployment in Denmark for the workers there, while giving the white generals and their gangs lots of work. A bum investment solely!

Due to such actions, Danish finances are not very sound. The Danish crown is still very much inflated, and no doubt the more powerful English and American capitalists are trying to get at Danish resources. The latest move in that direction is the building of a large assembling plant for Ford automobiles. This plant is at present being erected in Copenhagen, from where the cars will be distributed all over the countries having access to the Baltic sea.

As a result of the inflation of the currency and unemployment, the Danish workers' standard of living has sunk considerably during the last two or three years.

#### Sweden, Foremost in Scandinavian Capitalism

Sweden is, geologically, entirely different from Denmark. The southern part of the country resembles Denmark, in so far that it is a plain, with fertile fields capable of raising good grain crops and sugar beets as well as tobacco. Some spots are gravelly and rocky where there are a few small forests.

The middle section contains mostly inland water bodies, small patches of land fit for cultivation and forests, while the northern part is practically all forest and waste land.

But the northern part contains also a vast deposit of high grade iron ore, mountains of it! that is mined by surface mining!

Besides these two natural resources is the long coastline, that provides the basis for the fishing industry.

It is due solely to these natural resources that Sweden ranks foremost in the capitalistic and industrial development of the three Scandinavian countries.



There is yet another factor to consider, namely the super power inherent in the many falls and rivers of the country, a large percentage of which is already harnessed and put to work furnishing motive power and light to municipalities, factories, farms and railroads. The main line of the government-owned railroad, running between Stockholm and Gothenberg, is now under process of electrification. This is about 360 English miles in length. This is Sweden's greatest natural resource of all, this super power is.

### Most Important in Industry

The most important industry is the metal and machinery industry, including all manufacturing, steel-works and iron ore mining.

The total number employed in this, as we term it, two industries, is 126,000 workers. No exact figures are available for each industry.

The lumber industry comes next. The number of workers in the woods will not come up to that figure, nor are the workers in the woods working the year round as in the States. But most of the lumbering in the woods is done in the winter when the sleighing is good, as all the logs are hauled to the rivers by sleighs. Consequently, this is a seasonable work, performed partly by migratory labor; but also just as much by agricultural workers, renters and small working farmers, as all of them are unable to work the farms in winter.

The forests and lumber industry gave rise to another important industry, namely, the manufacturing of woodpulp for paper, wherein thousands of workers are employed.

Another industry that gets its main raw material from the lumber industry is match manufacturing. Match manufacturing in Sweden has developed into a World trust. Only a few days ago the press mentioned that all the important match manufacturing concerns had merged into one large corporation, including American and Canadian concerns.

The next two industries of large size, are railroad transportation and marine transportation, which employ 50,000 and 25,000 workers respectively. In the last named, there are a little over 10,000 shore-working marine workers; while the rest are seagoing, including officers.

### Swedish Evolution in Capitalism

In order to give the reader an idea of capitalist and industrial evolution in Sweden we will quote the following figures:

In 1870, that is, 52 years ago, the people engaged in agriculture made up 72 per cent of the total population of the country, while at the present time, that percentage has sunk to only 43.8 per cent.

In other words, the industrial workers have increased in number over 100 per cent in the last fifty years. The above is the relative standing of the two groups. The number of people engaged in agriculture at present is about the same as it was fifty years ago, while the productivity per worker has increased nearly 100 per cent.

The yearly surplus of labor power in the industry of agriculture has been absorbed by the other indus-



TALKING ORGANIZATION.

tries, not, however, in Sweden alone, but in the U. S., where a million have entered the industries during the same period.

Of Sweden's 500,000 industrial workers, about 340,000 are organized. Close to 300,000 are organized in the old craft-union federation. Some 10,000 are organized in independent craft-unions; while the syndicalists number about 30,000.

The craft union federation resembles very much the old German movement and the Danish movement. It is a federation of craft union federations, the latter subdivided in locals. In structure, it is somewhat like the American AFL, with some deviations. For instance, during the last few years the leaders of the craft unions having a membership in the sawmills and a small percentage in the woods have been forced to alter the form of organization from craft to industrial. It is now called The Woods and Saw mill Workers' Industrial Federation.

The same has been done amongst the miners. They are now members of the Industrial Federation of Miners, while the metal and machinery workers are members of the Industrial Federation of Iron and Metal Workers. (The name seems to imply that iron is not a metal in Sweden: The Author.)

### Reasons for Change

The reason why the workers in the above named industries have turned from the craft union form of organization to the industrial form is fundamentally the necessity for concerted action on the part of the workers in at least two of the industries, where we find a strong combination of capital. The syndicalists may have been a contributing factor in turning these federations from the craft into the industrial form, as they have kept up a strong agitation for a class instead of a craft organization of the workers.

However, on closer analysis, we find that the change is only in form, not in spirit. The officials still rule; the workers still recognize the sacred agreement. They will sign agreements in districts. They, in fact, resemble for all the world, the United



Mine Workers of America, with its district scabbery; the only difference is their smaller size.

The third and largest of the three industrial federations mentioned is the Industrial Federation of Iron and Metal Workers.

### Queer Conceptions of Industry

The craft unionists' conception of industry is, to say the least, queer. This "industrial federation" has its members in practically all industries. They are working in the shipbuilding industry, in the manufacturing industry, in the metal and machinery industry, in the railroad repair shops; that is, in the transport industry, as well as in the mining industry. Still it is called an "industrial" federation. Well, it may be that, but it is, most surely, not industrial unionism.

Having in mind their conception of industrial organization then, the motion that was carried at the last congress of the whole craft union federation, providing for a reconstruction of the whole craft union federation from the craft form to the industrial form, same to be accomplished by 1925, is of very little value. It is simply passing the buck.

The Swedish Social-Democratic party, that actually governs the federation, has not had as easy sailing as the Danish party. As the life of a social democratic labor politician is easy, compared with the life of the rank and file worker, the result has been a strong competition for place. Hence we find a number of aggressive individuals, mostly non-workers, using all their power to get in on the pie-card. The Russian revolution gave them a chance. They formed the left wing party, later called the communist party. They challenged the power of the social-democratic party. They charged the party with reactionary tendencies. They worked up quite a following, recruited from the rank and file of the craft unions who all joined the communist party as individuals.

### Political Sophistry

These politicians told the workers to demand industrial organization instead of craft. They established "cells" within the craft unions that agitated for shop committees and job committees, but amid all their activities they never forgot to mention that, of course, parliamentary and political action was of no use to the workers; but, they insisted, it was nevertheless necessary to elect a few politicians to office in order to show up the capitalists and carry on the propaganda. Some half a dozen managed to get elected on that proposition and they are still there. Everything is lovely, they got their cards.

During that process the social democrats had to hustle. They drove through the eight-hour day in no time, as a law, and that law is now enforced with plenty of loopholes as all political laws are. However, the workers have an eight-hour day, in spots. Some of the employers can yet dispense with the law if they can show just cause for such a demand (the law provides for such exceptions), and a great number have availed themselves of that opportunity.

The Social Democratic party has had the reins of

government twice, and, paradoxical as it may seem, it was during its terms of government that the greatest reduction in wages took place for the workers. Altogether wages have sunk on an average for all workers about 45 per cent since 1920.

So much for the old craft union federation and its two political parties. We will now proceed to the left, to the syndicalists.

### Swedish Syndicalism

The Swedish syndicalist organization (Sverges Arbeters Central-organisation), was founded in the year 1911. The founders were mostly young men, inspired by anarchist ideas and theories. They were members of the anarchist association, or party, in Sweden it was called, until this year, "Ungsocialistiska partiet,"—(the Young Socialist party.)

What they sought was an organization on the economic field that would be free from the despotic rule of the political party, as well as the labor fakir. They rebelled against the conservative spirit and the reactionary ideas of the craft unions that were satisfied with a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," leaving the social democratic party to realize the new society by capturing the state machinery.

### Syndicalist's Breed

The Syndicalists, being extremists, went to the extreme. Everything that sounded like centralization was denounced. To them centralization meant another state. Consequently they advocated extreme de-centralization. Every local must have absolute autonomy in regards to all of its actions. No power must be left in the hands of the officials, all decisions and all control must rest with the rank and file.

The economic organization that, to them, seemed to correspond with their ideas was the French syndicalist Confederation Generale du Travail. The French syndicalist organization became the model for the Swedish anarchists, and the Swedish syndicalist organization is the result. The anarchists may be sincere rebels but, as a rule, they are too much individualists to be good organizers. Such we find to be the case even here.

The Syndicalists denounced the long drawn out strike and advocated the short lightning strike. They advocated the use of sabotage and the strike on the job instead. They advocated that initiative of action must come from the rank and file. They put special stress on the solidarity of the workers and had as their slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." They were against the craft unions' sacred contracts, and reserved the right to put forth new demands whenever they saw fit. Further, they advocated that the workers' economic organizations should take over and run the industries and constitute the new society; they were, in short, a revolutionary economic organization.

We will now try to analyze the Swedish syndicalist movement and see how it jibes with the anarchist theories of extreme de-centralization.

The movement grew, in the beginning, at a fairly fast rate. It got a foothold amongst the migratory railroad construction workers that were numerous



at that time. One local after another sprang up, short snappy fights took place, a lot of small strikes were won for higher wages and shorter hours.

In time, the movement embraced nearly all construction workers in the country and as there was then a boom in railroad construction it had quite a number of members. These migratory workers became building workers when the railroad boom subsided and the organization followed them into the towns and cities, into the building industry. Consequently, the syndicalists have the largest membership in the construction industry and in the house building industry amongst the unskilled or laborers.

During the last few years considerable members have also come in from the lumber industry as well as from the metal mining industry. Outside of these four industries the membership is small and scattered.

As we mentioned before, the syndicalists were against the long drawn out strike and advocated the strike on the job instead.

### The Piece Work System

However, they forgot one important thing that practically puts a stop to their tactics, namely, the piece work system. As practically all members nowadays work at piece work, the strike on the job is an impossibility. In order to use that tactic, piece work must be abolished, but as the organization never took a decided stand against it, abolition is out of the question. The members reason this way, being to some extent imbued with anarchist ideas, that it is preferable to work piece work because then you have no slave driver to set the pace, the worker is free to set his own pace.

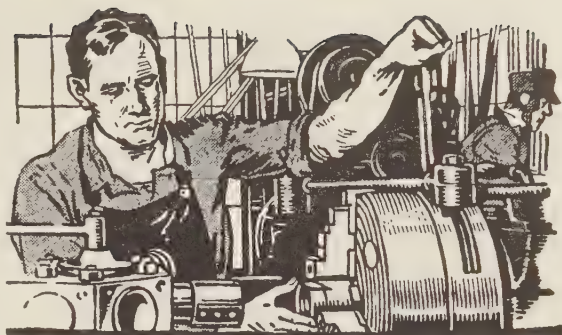
The only tactics left in case the workers need an increase in prices of the piece work is the strike off the job. A strike off the job nowadays means usually a long strike, if the workers' demands amount to anything and as the locals all have full autonomy, being, in theory at least, independent of all the others, each local can strike as long as it likes. The result of such tactics is easily imagined. The workers are usually beaten and forced to go back at the terms of the masters.

But someone may ask, what about the principle of solidarity? Why don't the other workers back them up? Simply because the principle of solidarity is an abstract principle with them while they are working. They are busy trying to make as much as possible at piece work. Seeing that there is no organization that can put the principle of solidarity into practice the members have only one course open as they see it, namely a strike fund to be built up with a compulsory assessment for all members. This last action, which has just been decided by practically the whole majority and sanctioned by the leaders, has just been arrived at. This puts them in the same position as the craft unionists.

### Anarchist's Attitude

The anarchist leaders are against Industrial Unionism, it's "too much centralization."

The leaders of the syndicalists are anti-Marxian. They are against discipline. This is the result: One



THE MACHINE AGE.

agitator, who has been nothing else for the last ten years, firmly believes that the workers can emancipate themselves very easily if they will only practice birth control. At least, that is his subject when speaking to the workers. And it is called syndicalism.

Another professional agitator believes that guild socialism, as it is practiced in England, will give the workers the control of industry. That's syndicalism, too.

Another professional thinks the only solution lies in a movement "back to the land," and as the only land available in Sweden is located up in the northern part of the country, in the arctic circle, and consisting only of morasses, it is a mighty hard job to cultivate it. Nevertheless, quite a few took that awful chance last year on these people's advice and now they will be lucky to get away from there with their lives.

Another professional, by the way, the editor of their daily organ, "Arbetaren," is using all his power of persuasion in trying to prove that the abolishing of piece work is of no value to the workers.

All this is syndicalism. Most of the agitators have been doing nothing else for the last ten years, and most of the editorial staff has been there just as long, or have come from the anarchist paper.

Of course, the organization is not poverty stricken, like the IWW. It owns a fine four-story structure, where the printing plant and headquarters are located. Everything is well furnished and, to an IWW, it does not look very different from the craft unions' headquarters, with their swivel chairs.

### Answering Some Questions

The question is, can the syndicalists do anything for the workers? Look at the above and you will be able to answer the question yourself. We have mentioned before that they are strong de-centralizers, that all the power must rest in the rank and file.

Well, due to the anarchist theories that abhor all laws and strict constitutions, their constitution does not mention how long an official shall hold office, nor how long an agitator shall be on the pay roll. Not only are those important rules lacking in the constitution, most everything else of value to a revolutionary organization is also lacking. As a result the officials can stay in office forever, the paid



# New Light on Civil War and Lincoln

Review by J. E.

SOME there are who believe that the Civil War in this country was a holy crusade in behalf of negro emancipation. It was a war, so we are told, free from gross materialism, that reflected the moral awakening of the North and that appealed pre-eminently to its puritan idealism and sense of justice, as a consequence.

The Civil War, thus conceived, had many after-maths. One of these was a letter said to have been written in 1864 by President Lincoln to Wm. Elkin. In this letter, Lincoln foresees a time coming when, as a result of the war, corporations and the money power will have been enthroned and the republic destroyed.

Everybody of intelligence knows that that time has actually arrived, that it is already here. We all know, who know anything, that "the power of the people" has been supplanted by that of a small group of industro-financiers, with offices principally in Wall St., New York City. They, through their control of the strategic capital and credit of the nation, are now its real rulers. Their motto is, "The people be damned."

Nevertheless, there are some who would deprive Lincoln of the fame due a seer. They claim that the Elkin letter is not characteristic of Lincoln; that it is, intrinsically, non-Lincolnian in style and thought; and therefore a fabrication.

And here enters a recent biography, *Lincoln*, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. It throws considerable light on the real causes of the Civil War and the trend of Lincoln's mind regarding inherent economic tendencies.

We read, for instance: "A later age (than 1850) has accused the Senate of the United States of being the citadel of Big Business . . . Certain of our historians today think they see in the fifties a virtual slavery trust, a combine of slave interests controlled by the magnates of the institution, and having as real, though informal an existence as has the Steel Trust or the Beef Trust in our own time. This

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agitators the same, as well as the editorial staff. The founders were satisfied when they established the rule that no official shall have a vote at the meetings of the members, only the voice. But where does that lead to?

We know by experience that those who are in a position where they can control the means of expression, namely the press and the public speaking, have also the power to mould the opinion of the body that uses it. The officials and agitators are in that position and consequently they actually dictate the policy of the organization in just as large a degree as the craft unions' leaders do. By analyzing this, we find that the anarchists' theories have led to a centralization of power in the hands of the few, to the same extent in reality, as any other centralized system of organization would.

powerful interest allied itself with the capitalists of the Northeast.

"To be highly profitable it (the slavery trust), required virgin soil, and the financial alliance demanded high profits. Early in the 'fifties, the problem of Big Business was the acquisition of fresh soil for slavery. The problem entered politics with the question how could this be brought about without appearing to contradict democracy? The West also had its incipient Big Business. It hinged upon railways . . . a transcontinental railway was a Western dream . . . Here was a chance for great jockeying among business interests in Congress for slave holders, money lenders, railway promoters to manipulate deals to their heart's content." (PP. 73-74.)

Here then was the beginning of a titanic conflict: the slavery trust wanted more soil for slavery that the railway interests also wanted free for their own grabbing and development purposes. From this embryonic condition ensued a great contributing cause of the Civil War, in which the railroads, headed by the Pennsylvania, particularly, were a decisive factor.

Now comes Lincoln. He, according to the present biographer, "had sensed the fact that money was becoming a power in American politics. He saw that money and slavery tended to become allies, with the inevitable result of a shift of gravity in the American social system . . . The rights of man were being superseded by the rights of wealth. (P. 77.)

"It was because of these views, because he saw slavery allying itself with the spread of plutocratic ideals, that Lincoln entered the battle to prevent its extension." (P. 78.)

This recognition of the growth of plutocracy was practically the turning point in Lincoln's career. He returned to politics and entered on the highroad that took him to the presidency and to martyrdom. It is safe to say that events subsequent to those of the 'fifties tended to broaden and deepen his original ideas on the power of wealth and its supercession of the rights of man. His biographer, while professing to see in Lincoln's career the unfoldment of a mystical personality, largely dependent on its own individuality, actually reveals a great man, born of and moulded by his environment.

Chapter VIII, "A Return to Politics," in this recent Lincoln biography, is a real contribution to the data of economic determinism. It also indicates plainly the probable nature of Lincoln's psychology when he was writing letters in the White House a decade later than the period of which it treats.

The book is also worth reading for its other phases. It is good literature; and, in a simple story, makes personal and real a great subject that tends to become legendary and mythical.

(*Lincoln*, Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. Bobb-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind.)



# A Sentimental Theory of Value

REVIEW By VERN SMITH

JOHN FREDERICK BROWN is a man of considerably greater intelligence than any of the college economists I have ever had a chance to read; certainly his criticism of the marginal utilitarians and the classicists in the science of economics, are evidence of keen analytical ability, and a considerable habit of study, combined with what is in many instances, a happy turn of phraseology.

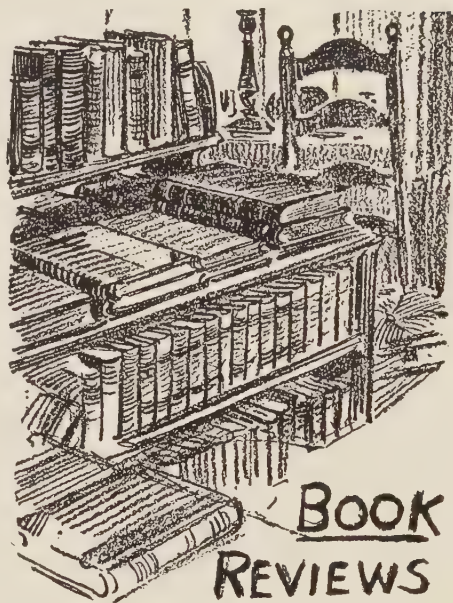
But the book he wrote is a baffling thing, because just when you find Brown on the track of an elusive economic truth, and you are leaning over the saddle and enjoying the hunt, Brown suddenly calls off his dogs, shifts his coat, twists his collar around in front, and you have to listen to a sermon from a Unitarian preacher, one of the liberal sort, yes, not opposed to labor unions nor to birth control, but a sentimentalist, and an incurable optimist, urging with you at great length as to what the method of distribution of the products of labor shall be, in the New Society, or as he calls it, "The New Era."

Sometimes it seems as though Brown realizes this fault, and attempts to defend himself. At any rate, whether for protection or not, he insists that economics is not a science, and gives the strangely contradictory evidence of the modern economists to prove his point. He presents in a sort of deadly parallel definitions of value by one after another of the great school men of modern times, who call themselves teachers of economics, and are recognized as such by the capitalists. It is really ridiculous to see how badly they agree. Then he says, in effect, "If these authorities fail to create any common basis for their 'science,' how much of a science can it be?"

## Value Theory Basic

It is understood by all that the theory of value is at the basis of every system of economics. It was the beginning of the discussion, so to speak, and the last word has not been spoken yet, and will not be, as long as it is in the interest of some ruling class to obscure the issue. The question that must not be answered if capitalism is to continue teaching economics, is, "How much of my possessions shall exchange for a given quantity of thine?" The whole matter of rent, profit, interest, wages, working conditions, standard of living, even population and social institutions will depend on the answer which the great masses of the people make to the problem of value.

Well, this is alright, and even true, as far as it goes. It is proper enough, so far as I can see, to get together a lot of speculation as to what men should have in return for their labor under a future society that includes, so Brown says, a strict classification of all workers into apprentices, on part time pay, journeymen on full time, masters



or foremen on time and a quarter, perhaps, and veterans, on part time again.

We are all interested in such things, therefore it is good to point out that in the present time of injustice, there is great disparity in the pay of workers, all of whom work equally hard. It is worth while to be reminded that the unions have some of them become job trusts, and that they insist on higher pay for their members than can be obtained by the unorganized, even those whom they refuse to permit to organize.

It is not a bad thing to occasionally read long historical accounts of the way in which agricultural and unskilled work in general was forced into degraded and lowly paid categories, while the craftsmen, who may really not have any greater ability or knowledge than the farmer, nor any greater strength of back or mind than the mucker will get higher wages.

## A Protest

But I, for one, do protest when all this is used as either a theory of value, or the proof of such a theory. It is nothing of the sort. It is general information, and possible as speculation, and it may be all right as part of a code of ethics, but it does not lead to an answer to the question: "For what part of your product, or possessions, shall one unit of my product exchange?"

I do not wish to be misunderstood as attacking the Brown conclusion. Wherever he got it (it is far from being original), there is no serious fault in it, as such. I think this is because it does not mean what Brown thinks it means. Here is the theory, in his own words: "Equal compensation, hour for hour, for all kinds of useful work, of



standard efficiency, male or female." This, says Brown, is the absolute truth, "true under private ownership of capital as under collective ownership; true along with the existence of private property in land or without; true irrespective of interest, and rent."

It is only fair to state that this must not be interpreted as meaning that Brown thinks that goods actually do exchange this way, under capitalism—a manifest absurdity—but only that they ought to so exchange. That is exactly what is the trouble with the Brown theory of value. It is not an explanation of why goods exchange in certain proportions, but a program, a proposition, a plan for the exchanging of goods, when men are better, as Brown says, quoting Tennyson, when they

"Move upward, working out the beast,  
"And let the ape and tiger die."

Much of Brown's argument is Marxian. He even uses such terminology as "exchange value," and "use value," and even more so, when defending his use of the word "useful," he says such things as, "Utility explains value as a quality, and labor cost explains it from the quantity side," a very characteristically Marxian expression.

#### A Nasty Stab

It is therefore surprising to find him, usually so sweet and good-tempered, taking a nasty stab at Marx, on page 178 of his book, on which he declares, "... he (Marx) certainly has not given us a theory of value that is rational and consistent with facts. Marx starts with the assumption that all commodities exchange in the everyday market at their true values; while I start from the exact opposite, that the world's value estimates of both the commodities and the labor that produces them are false and cruelly unjust, and that this constitutes a fundamental cause of all economic evils. If it were true that commodities exchange at their just values, then economic reformers would be without a cause, for there would be nothing economic to reform, and we could, sit down, fold our hands, and say: "God is in his heaven, all is well with the world."

This of course, is a sheer misstatement of the Marxian position. The Marxian definition of value is that it consists of the amount of socially necessary labor time required for the reproduction of the articles in question. The words "socially necessary," as explained by Marx, include all that Brown and the moralists, the marginal utilitarians, the cost of production group, the psychologists and the whole Hedonist school have to say about the necessity of the work's being useful, or standard quality, exercised under given technique, male or female, man or child, etc., some of which Brown thinks he has discovered by himself.

But Marx is very careful to say that goods do **not** exchange at this value. They exchange at a price, which is based on exchange value, and that, too, may differ at times, though not enormously, from value. The Marxian value explains why an auto-

mobile costs more than a wheel-barrow—because it contains more labor. But it does not say that the automobile must or should sell on the market at its value. Marx himself points out that if demand exceeds the supply by, say ten percent, then while that condition lasts, and on the average, goods can be sold for ten percent above exchange value—which is the secret of monopolies and monopoly prices—and the answer of another question which bothers Brown.

#### Beauty of Marxian Theory

The beauty of the Marxian theory of value is that it provides just what Brown's theory does not, an adequate measure for the exchange value of goods in the present society, and the proof of it is that the prices of goods, average prices that is, are actually calculable variants from this exchange value based on labor time.

Neither is the second jibe correct, that we have nothing to do, if goods exchange at their just values, or as Marx would say, when not oversimplifying, "near their values." There is still the enormous gap between the value of labor, which is the concrete product of human toil, and the value of the labor power, which is what the worker gets paid for. The worker gets wages enough to live on, that is the price of his labor power, something near the value of it. But he produces much more than this, and that the employer takes. The IWW is going to considerable trouble to do something about it.

So much for value. And as for the rest: well, the author shows his good will toward mankind, and takes a commendable interest in the welfare of laboring men. He believes in "a growing spirit of democracy," believes we have "political equality," believes in "the greater mental alertness of modern young people, with the general all-round increase in intelligence."

On my part, I continue to feel skeptical about these things. And I am still more doubtful as to whether the future society will take any orders from us. If it be really true that there is a constant growth in intelligence, then we are exceedingly presumptuous if we tell this next generation of supermen how to order things, and if the contrary is true it won't do any good to tell them what to do next, for they won't do it.

#### "Every One According To His Stocks"

Nor do I mean that there should be no discussion of Utopias. Man when he is not driven or fleeing, is running towards an ideal. It is stimulating and encouraging to consider all the various possibilities of the future, even the method of distribution, as for instance, true communism (let every one take all he wants, as long as it lasts), and the various modified communisms (to every man according to his needs, or to every man an equal amount, and Brown's theory, to every man equal pay by the hour), also the theory, let each man take the value of his products, with its variations. But it is unnecessary and it leads to error



# Out of the Mouths of Others

## THE LAWLESS RICH!

**P**LEASE remember that a very large and influential portion of the American Nation is against Prohibition and also that it would be perfectly impossible for goods to enter New York if the Authorities were seriously concerned to prevent such entry. Yet over 1,800,000 cases of whiskey were landed last year in New York and spirits and wines are served openly at bars and restaurants.—Lt. Col. Sir Brodrick Hartwell in a London circular inviting contributions to his Whiskey Export Business.

## ONLY BEGUN?

**"W**E have not yet begun history in capitalism," Premier Mussolini said in an interview printed in the *Giornale d'Italia*. "Capitalism still is in its prehistoric stage. When it is considered that there are only a few nuclei of capital in England, France and Germany and some embryonic evidence of it in Italy, while there are vast regions in the Balkans and Russia untouched by modern capitalism, it is easy to see that the real history of capitalism has not begun."

**"I**T'S too bad that the labor banks seem to be making a success," said Professor John R. Commons, author of the *History of Labor in the United States*, when he visited Brookwood Labor College on November 6th. "Labor surely will fail if it competes with business in the field of business, for the psychologies of labor and business are fundamentally different. Labor unions depend upon a spirit of sympathy and solidarity, while business de-

to try at this time to decide just which one of these the commonwealth of toil will adopt, if not something else altogether. They are all better than capitalism, which operates on the theory of, "to everyone according to his block of stock."

(*New Era Economics*. John Frederick Brown, B. S., Indianapolis, Indiana.)

## UNION LABOR, IS THIS TRUE?

**I**N 1917 the sheriffs of Pennsylvania appeared as a body before the legislature of Pennsylvania to ask for a large numerical increase of the force, and for a raise in pay for every man on it—and a strong union labor vote, backing his appeal, triumphantly carried the measure. Union labor at that time had the I. W. W.s fresh in mind, from whose assaults the ever-ready state police had, at their call, come times without number to save them.—*Farm and Fireside*, Dec., 1923.

## BLASPHEMY

**I**N Lancaster, Ohio, in the year 1826, some railroad and telegraph promoters requested the use of a school house to bring the proposition before the people. The school board replied: "You are welcome to use the school house to discuss all proper questions in but as for such things as railroads and telegraph lines, they are impossible and rank infidelity. If God had intended that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of 15 miles an hour by steam, He would have foretold it through His Holy prophets."

## CONSCRIPT PROPERTY!

### THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR,

in its issue of November 15, advances editorially its proposal for ending war, or at least greatly lessening its likelihood: "The adoption of a constitutional amendment substantially as follows: In the event of a declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives, and liberties of all citizens shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the Nation, and it shall be the duty of the President to propose and of Congress to enact the legislation necessary to give effect to this amendment."

The Monitor does not consider its plan a panacea for international troubles but believes that wide discussion of it would be fruitful.

## COMMONS ON LABOR BANKS

depends upon an ability to say 'No' to one's best friend. The real business of labor is to lay down the rules for capitalism as it affects industry.

"Company unions?" said Professor Commons with scorn. "Oh, company unions have nothing to do with trade unionism. They are just labor management."

## THEIR NOBLE OBJECT

**T**HE National Security League, the American Legion, the Better American Federation of California, the Sons of the American Revolution, the National Chamber of Commerce—are all using their utmost influence in the schools in the name of patriotism, but in reality for the purpose of staving off any change in the present social order that would interfere with their own privileges, says Henry R. Lenville, President New York Teachers' Union.

**Study the Principles, Objects and Methods of the IWW by Reading Industrial Pioneer**



# Our Paternalistic Press' Health Hints

**G**ENEROUS beyond description is the daily press of the country. All sorts of departments are furnished for the consumption of the Robot. Besides the regulation thought moulding bunk that they dish out as literature, philosophy, and general culture, they also have "health and beauty" advice.

As to beauty, well, ours is perfect and so we'll leave that to some less fortunate creature; but the health hints, for instance, are a treasure. Here is one quarter column that is chuck full of any thing but the mean contempt they hold the workers in. We quote:

## **"Bother the Butcher"**

"It is wasteful for working people to eat meat (or fish or eggs or fowl) more than once a day in cool weather, and injurious for them to eat it more than three times a week in hot weather."

"Working people," you see, are a different specie. The same as work horses, for example.

"The abuse of meat eating is not only harmful to health but unpatriotic."

The worker must be kept patriotic and he must be shown where he is more patriotic than the rich brute, whom the above paper "despises" so terribly.

"A fat, overfed, underworked person who has the temerity to sit down to eat meat twice a day or meat and fish at the same meal, ought to be fined heavily for each offense"—and he is, as you know.

Just now we come to realize why the courts are so overcrowded with all kinds of law suits. 99 percent of them no doubt are "fat, overfed, underworked" persons who had the "temerity" to sit down and eat meat "twice a day" or meat and fish at one meal.

"A worker can endure longer without meat in his diet than with it. He can withstand high temperature much more easily without meat than with it."

A mule can work much better on a certain sort of hay than on others. A machine should be fed a certain kind of lubrication in preference to some other kind, etc. The high esteem they hold the workers in, is second to none.

## **The "Best" Yet!**

And the best is still to come:

"Macaroni, spaghetti or noodles cooked in broth and served with mere dabs of gravy or meat; stews of a hodgepodge of vegetables just flavoured with a chunk of the cheapest cut of meat, are worth while"

The "cheapest cut of meat" is rich. You mustn't get the best as is prescribed the rich lady, but the cheapest. Of course if you'll persist in buying the cheapest of every thing, you'll not note the deficit in your accounts so much each week and if you are underfed and pale and sickly looking you can cover that up by a "dab" of rouge or

powder but you can still work. And if you should become sick and incapacitated for a time, there are plenty of "free" institutions supported for your sake where you can receive treatment according to your worth.—A work horse.

But the best is yet to come, Ponder over this gem.

"The evening meal should be the substantial meal of the day for all who work in daytime and rest at night. Mid-day dinner is wrong for busy people. In fact, people who take breakfast at about 8 a.m. are often more healthy and efficient if they take no more food until 6 p.m. dinner, then a light lunch at bedtime if desired."

That's just what we say, why not skip a meal? What's the good of eating three meals a day any way? Two are plenty and then maybe it can be reduced to one and then to none. It will be cheaper in the long run and then one would hardly need have any lunch hour at all. Just keep on working all the day long and don't worry about eats at all. A certain farmer of international fame, tried the same method on his horse at one time. Well the horse, very nearly, got used to it, when he took a foolish notion to play a prank on the astute farmer and one morning he decided to die, and die he did. The thrifty farmer had the shock of his life, but perhaps he has had better luck in other similar attempts, the story does not say.

## **Some Recollection!**

However, as humans go, it seems to work out differently. We recall the time when we were a shrimp of a worker and we began to work early in our young life; well, we used to eat breakfast as usual and somehow the noon hour never came around early enough.

At about 10:30 there used to appear a certain mysterious rumbling in a certain part of our anatomy and before long, we used to notice ourself munching away on an apple or two, or so. Nor were we alone in the enterprise, the entire table of faces would very soon be set in motion, and small quarters of fruit and even of plain coarse bread would be traveling the rounds and be devoured in due course of time. And strange to say, at noon we were just as famished as at 10:30. Well, guess we weren't the right kind of animals, we evidently didn't have the proper psychology of things, and we just kept on indulging ourselves to our heart's content.

We are however, inclined to commend the idea, it would certainly prove beneficial in one way; workers could then work for less pay and work the whole day without a break and naturally, for less pay. Fine idea, no doubt. But then, perhaps the worm may turn some day and put paternalistic masters where they would like to see us, i. e., starving, submissive slaves.

**J. D. C.**



# The Political Situation in Italy

By M. DE CIAMPIS

THE Fascists' dictatorship that has followed the crisis of the bourgeois regime in Italy has been so far successful only in creating more political and economic chaos, in persecuting relentlessly with a reactionary high hand all those that disagree with it, in giving a free hand to all Labor baiters so that they might more easily enjoy the blessings of a government that came to power in behalf of the war industries' captains and financiers.

It is hard to tell how things in that country are. Very few people are outspoken in what they think and feel about the present state of affairs. Furthermore, a strict censorship covers up all the news of every day social life, so that only that sympathetic to Fascism is circulated. Who ever dares violate the rulings of the gang of marauders that keeps Italy under the iron heel of ultra-reactionary capital is sure to get his or her head split open. Justice is a thing of the past. What Mussolini say or does is right; because in his madness and self conceit, he assumes the pose of a demi-god—a malady very contagious in the Eternal City where many of his like in ancient times thought of themselves in like manner.

This Fall Italy has gone through the so-called fascist "celebration of victory" at the end of a year of fascist rule. In many cities, Mussolini and his henchmen have paraded the streets and shown the skeptic populace the strength of his dictatorship. In a few places the workers remembering what has been done to them, have given the fascist' chieftains a significantly silent and cold reception. In Turin, for instance, though starving, they went even so far as subscribing many thousands of lire to a radical publication in protest. In others, they didn't give a hang for the "celebration" and stayed at home rather than give homage to a bitter and declared enemy.

Force, violence and corruption have been the things on the order of the day of fascists' misdoing in the land that only a little more than 3 years ago was in the throes of a social revolution. Where the club of the White guards could not work successfully, corruption has been applied. Many weak souls, thus bought, are now doing what they can for their new masters. But, notwithstanding all this, the whole Italian political situation is far from being cheerful. The turncoats, who, with the excuse of the war, betrayed the working class, dare not ask the people for its judgment.

Thanks to Fascism, the bourgeois has regained its faith and power. Its ascendancy over the workers has been established anew. Wages have gone down and working hours lengthened in factories and work-shops. Better working conditions have also been lost. Workers nowhere are anymore protected by their unions. No Labor organization, the skeleton of what remains, dares

challenge all this state of things. One of those that could challenge Fascism had they the number and the authority of all others: the Syndicalist Union, have its membership either in jail or scattered to the four corners of the World. Nevertheless, cases of open rebellion often occur. Where the working class lose its patience, it goes on strike and these strikes are frequently suppressed by the use of the army and squads of mischief-making fascists. The revolutionary spirit that flared up so well among the workers right after the war cannot be suppressed and may, who can tell? at any time do things that now perhaps are unlooked for.

The Fascists claim that they have organized 2,000,000 of workers in their "corporations." This is a lie; the figures are far below those given. One thing is sure and that is that half the amount of those that have been inducted into these "corporations" are employers, business men and politicians. Peace is far from being achieved in such organizations. I have heard of cases where the workers so organized have united themselves and made war;—class war, on their employers. In many instances employers have been mercilessly beaten by the workers organized in the fascist "corporations." Forbidden to strike, these workers had the only escape in maintaining somewhat better conditions on the job by making threats and beating their masters. But these are exceptions and prove that it will not do to cow people into submission and have the upper hand over them. Somehow or other they will take revenge!

The political parties offer a sad spectacle of impotency and naivete. All radical parties seem to have lost themselves in splitting hairs. They foster and create dissension and bad feelings among the workers. It seems that the Socialist party, more than any other, is hopelessly divided. From it have come many new factions, namely: the social-unitarians, the maximalists, the so-called third-internationalists apart from the communists, and finally the yellow socialists in sympathy with Fascism and headed by that most shifty of men known as Enrico Ferri. So, among the socialists of all shades there is no such a thing as unity of thought and action. Every faction is bent to ridicule and nullify the other. Many old time socialists in disgust have retired from the movement and hope sincerely that some time in the future some sanity may show its face. The fact is that the entire political socialist movement has utterly failed to do its duty towards the working class, as it has many times promised. It rests now upon the workers to organize themselves on the economic field to brandish, without fear and with steadiness and intelligence, the axe of Labor's re-vindication.

The country has gone into the hands of the

war profiteers garbed as fascists and nationalists. What they say and do is law, and anyone that does not like things as they have been made, are lost. Many times press dispatches have brought us the news how this or that politician or statesman has been assaulted in the streets or at home. We can, therefore, imagine how hard the lot of the workers is. Here is a document that speaks for itself. It is quoted from *The Nation* for December 12:

#### **"Italys' Terror Goes On**

"Little is heard of disorder or dissatisfaction in Italy but occasionally an article is published like that printed below, indicating continued resistance to Fascist rule.

"To the Workers and Workers' Organizations of all countries:

"As reaction in Italy proceeds with its work of destruction, the breaking up of surviving syndical organizations continues along with the persecution and murder of workers, while the prisons are still being crowded with victims. The courts are overrun by comrades involved in cases which have been forced to trial by the police and judicial authorities during the last three years of close cooperation between the courts, the police, and Fascism. . . .

"Even in these last few days the Arezzo trials against the Valdarno miners and the Minervino Murge peasants have both resulted in outrageous verdicts against our comrades, who were insulted with impunity in the courtrooms by the lawyers, the press men, and the Fascist caliphs, who in some cases even attempted to lynch the condemned men. During the last few days the comrades of Valdarno, Minervino Murge, and Cerignola have been sentenced to terms amounting altogether to more than fifteen centuries. The sentences vary from 10, 20, to 30 years, very few being granted easier terms.

"Comrades! . . .

"Think of the victims in these life and death struggles; think of these comrades who may perhaps never leave their cells, because they refuse to ask for pardon from the judges of bourgeois reaction.

**The Central Committee of the Italian Syndicalist Union."**

So goes the sad story! . . .

### **SUBSCRIBE FOR THE PIONEER. Here's What One Subscriber Says Of It.**

Oakland, California.

Enclosed is money order for year's subscription to your magazine. Have been buying it at hall, 8th Street, until now.

The latest number, November, is a gem. Ellis' poem, "San Quentin," is a splendid thing. "The Loop" came a close second.

By the way, I see the long poem on the same page, after the manner of Kipling, is attributed to



### **Co-Operation on Great Lakes**

THE Spring season is likely to see an extensive campaign in the cities along the great lakes. The lake cities are great ore-unloading and steel and metal manufacturing centers, like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, for instance, not to mention Lorain, Ashtabula and Erie. Both the Marine Transport Workers' and the Metal and Machinery Workers' industrial unions, find them places for recruiting and upbuilding; and both are acting in co-operation with each other to obtain the best results.

A spring conference to crystallize the various activities is suggested by the more active members interested. It's a good suggestion and should be pushed.



### **Don't be an Airplane Poet**

THE poet sings:  
The city's hands are lean and gray  
The city's hands are strong;  
They wind about your throat by day  
They strangle all night long—

So he'd take an airplane and fly away from it all—thus symbolizing man's triumph over things earthy.

But the city worker, if he's intelligent, does not go up in the air, but stays on the earth. Realizing that there aren't enough airplanes to go around, he organizes industrially to break that strangle-hold and make the city a decent place to work and live in.



# "Tired Radicals"

By JAMES MORRIS

WHEN a "revolutionist" of ordinary ability and average intelligence settles down to the every day life of a blasé radical he begins to display a nonchalant attitude toward important questions of the day.

His reading matter is carefully (and sometimes prayerfully) selected and opinions offered with an air of condescension. The slave class is viewed from a lofty altitude and the contempt he holds for the uninitiated finds expression in a vicious denunciation of all things he once held worth while.

Although he may be ever on the alert to contest an error or correct a mis-statement the continued repetition of accepted principles palls upon his mind and leaves him indifferent to the latest contributions to the already voluminous literature of the labor movement.

He is already drifting out of the radical movement and is merely stepping carefully, providing himself with a justification for his "falling from grace" as he goes along.

## Self-Sufficient

In time he becomes an entity in himself, an ex-radical and an authority upon all questions relating directly and remotely to the labor movement. He knows too much to associate himself with any party or group. He is satisfied to remain freezingly neutral. The slave class becomes his pet anathema and upon their unsuspecting heads he pours the vials of his wrath.

We can all agree, of course, that the workers are ignorant, mentally lazy, and all that our ex-radical charges them with being but it might be as well to suggest that "people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones."

It has been mighty hard for us to understand or explain the docility and backwardness of our class and while we may in extenuation offer for them the excuse of ignorance we find it extremely difficult to account for the actions of those who are presumed to be "educated." Samuel Johnson once said that some men are "blinded by the dust of knowledge."

Can this be said of the ex-radical and must we therefore, revise our ideas on what constitutes "ignorance" and "knowledge"? Before we attempt this however, it would be well to give some attention to the ex-radical and see if we can understand him. Because the ex-radical is relatively unimportant and has very little influence on the trend of the labor movement, very little attention has been paid him.

However, on one of my not too frequent visits to the public library, I stumbled across a small volume with the hopeful title of "The Tired Radicals," by Walter Weyl. Upon examination I found that this book was not devoted exclusively to a consideration of tired radicals, being rather a collection of short papers on a variety of subjects. But notwithstanding the extreme brevity of the author on the subject

of worn-out rebels, he has penned his protest in a particularly brilliant manner.

## His Dream

"If I were the United States of America," says Mr. Weyl, "I would give a few acres, an agreeable wife, two or three children and a sufficient tale of kine and swines to every discouraged radical.... I would make him sovereign over these acres and leave him there and forget him. For progress is halted by the tired radicals who do not know they have ceased to be radicals." Mr. Weyl understands the tired radicals well enough to know just what they desire most of all. It is not that farming is unusually attractive to them but in their desire to remove themselves "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife" anything that promises relief is satisfactory. Could anything be more grotesque than a worldly wise ex-radical going the hoosier one better and trying to out-bourgeois the bourgeois?

"Now they decline," continues the author, "into feeble dwarfed enthusiasms, the pale ghosts of their former ambitions." The poor creatures are burnt out. The movement has, to them, become a sordid, hopeless thing but "there is no use crying over those who are graduated out of radicalism, for young trees grow where the old trees die."

And with this optimistic tilt Mr. Weyl leaves the tired radicals to the tender mercies of approaching disillusionment.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Weyl has seen fit to generalize and deal with the tired radicals as a whole. We, of the IWW are more familiar with the ex-wobbly than we are with his prototype from the various socialist or communist groups. The ex-wobbly is however, as an ex-radical, somewhat different from the remainder of the tribe. He is, usually, a radical by environment although there are any number of ex-wobblies who, like Varney, "came into the IWW on a wave of emotion," and quit when the emotional urge drove them up against the brutal realities of the class struggle. With these latter we are not unduly concerned as they choose "a philosophy to suit their nerves, as one chooses a wall paper. Give them a war or some other excitement and the emotion is deflected and their radical ideas cease upon the midnight without pain."

## Bucking Capitalism Alone

But why should a worker, claiming to understand the labor movement, quit and turn a cold shoulder upon the only thing that can destroy a system that enslaves him and his class. The teachings of the IWW coupled with the every day experiences of the workers is surely enough to convince any intelligent slave how futile it is to buck capitalism alone. Slavery is everywhere and do what we will we cannot possibly avoid it. The ex-wobbly has heard this argued out before and considers it "old stuff" unworthy of further consideration.

Our "educated" ex-wobblies hate to be called "ignorant" but at the present moment I cannot think of a more appropriate term. If ignorance means anything, it means a lack of knowledge and our ex-wobblies certainly do not know that victories are gained by those who persevere and not by those who quit because the fight is prolonged. How many of us vociferously cheer the Russian Peasants for pulling their little affair. And yet it took close to three hundred years of effort, of failure, before success finally came.

Most ex-wobblies will tell you they are "well read" and for your edification will quote chapter and paragraph from Marx, Dietzgen, Hegel or any philosopher extinct or extant but rarely do they read to learn. They are like the tired business man who wants to be in with the boys by going to the right kind of plays and by reading the right kind of books, not because the plays and the books are good or bad but because it gives one the outward appearance of refinement. It is, however, much easier to conform than to create though not so gainful.

### Small Relief

If the knowledge of those who "fall by the wayside" permits them to suffer in silence a grave social injustice we feel impelled to say that time will show that they are, as Tom Moore has it, "beholding heaven and feeling hell." The relief the ex-wobblies feel in withdrawing from the struggle is of short duration and our wise friends will learn to their sorrow that capitalism is no respecter of persons.

The hell of capitalism is for all of us and the only way out is over the corpse of the system itself.

Capitalism is like a ship wrecked far out at sea. Those who would survive must bend to the oar and no amount of "logic" could justify a refusal to help because the shore was a long way off. It is this phase of the question that doesn't suggest itself to the ex-wobblies. Of what use is there then in a "knowledge" that so strangely resembles "ignorance," in a "wisdom" that savours of foolishness, in a "shrewdness" that has the taint of cowardice.

But a curse upon the ambiguity of language. Mr. Weyl has started us upon an excursion of understanding and every radical wobbly or otherwise can read his refreshingly original criticism with enjoyment. We are learning to take this labor movement seriously, satisfied that it is big enough to be worthy of a life's concentration. To hold out a hope of immediate relief is chimerical. Capitalism is too strongly entrenched and the workers too work-worn and weary to render possible a sudden transformation.

The system has to develop some more and the workers have to assimilate knowledge, partly from books but mainly from experience before we can even think of ushering in the new order of things. And if we are to be real rebels we must attain a sense of proportion, neither rushing to the heights of a hectic enthusiasm nor sinking to the depths of despair and dejectedness.

## What Unions are Interested In

**R**ECENT Developments in the American Labor Movement," written by Harry W. Laidler, as "a syllabus for discussion groups," is a ten-cent pamphlet that every hide-bound orthodox worker would do well to read. It will cause him to realize that the organized workers of this country are interested in more things than are dreamt of in his own very limited philosophy. The bibliography attached to each of the six chapters will further admit him to "a far-flung" field of fact and speculation, such as will shake his orthodoxy and cause it to loosen up some.

These six chapters are headed: 1. Towards A Labor Party; 2. A Program of Nationalization; 3. Co-operation and Labor Banking; 4. Workers' Education; 5. Labor Journalism, Research, Health; 6. Further Features.

We are told in the summary of the final chapter: "The union must make every effort to supply all the needs of its members, material, social and spiritual." This will hit hard those who believe the union is solely a pork chop institution. It also goes to show that some union ideas of the functions of unionism are expanding.

In the "Introduction," under the sub-division "Groups in American Labor," we find the following:

"The IWW advocates an industrial rather than a craft form of organization and among its stated aims is the abolition of the wage system and the forming of 'the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.' Its membership—small in proportion to its influence—exists chiefly among migratory workers on the farm, in the lumber camps and on the seaboard. Government persecution during and after the war has greatly interfered with its activities."

This will give an idea of both the tone and the contents of this pamphlet.

(Recent Developments in the American Labor Movement, Harry Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy, 70 5th Ave, N. Y. City.)

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I can find no better advice to offer all radicals than that of Francis Bacon who says:

"To spend too much time in study is sloth; to use them-(studies) too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgement wholly by their rules, is the humor of a scholar. They perfect nature and are perfected by experience, for natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning, by study, and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded by experience. Read not to contradict nor confute, nor to believe and take for granted nor to find talk and discussion but to weigh and consider."

As T-bone Slim might say "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

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**BOOST THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**



# WOBBLES

## RIGHT WHERE IT BELONGED!

"Cockey" was on the bum and hungry in the town of Ontario, California. He selected himself a house and broached it from the back door for a bite to eat. Getting no response to his persistent pounding he tried the front. A lady came to the door and asked what he wanted. "Cockey" stated his wish.

After a lengthy wait she reappeared holding at arm's length two crackers with a sardine between them. She handed this tiny sandwich to "Cockey" saying with a big smile:

"Here is some fish for you, and, you know, fish is good for the brain."

Quick as a flash "Cockey" reached for the sandwich and extracting the sardine he handed it back to the smiling lady with the words:

"Ma'am, I thank you for the bread, but I can positively not accept the fish—you need that yourself."

Her smile gone, the lady (?) slammed the door.

## GOT IN WRONG DRAFT

Mike—Say, Clancy, did you hear about Pat having pneumonia?

Pat—Sure, and that's tough luck; how did he get it?

Mike—Oh, working in an open shop.

## OUR KIDS AT SCHOOL

Teacher—"Willie, have you whispered today without permission?"

Willie—"Only wunst."

Teacher—"Johnny, should Willie have said 'wunst'?"

Johnny—"No'm, he should have said twict."

## REAL EDUCATION

"An educated person is a man who can read a newspaper without being humbugged by it."—**St. John Irvine.**

## CHANGE

"We never will live to see it,"—But the boss is afraid it will come in his time.

## SELDOM SEEN

**Freight Agent** (to applicant for a job): "You know how to read?"

**Applicant:** Yes, indeed, I'm good with 'ones' and 'twos'; the 'fives' and 'tens' bother me a little; the 'twenties' got me stumped.



I. W. W. AGITATES EVEN THE SCISSORBILLS IN THE TENEMENTS.

## Somebody's Boy

By VERA MOLLER

Into the shadow of grated walls  
Where a dreary blackness lay.  
Into a cell thru the long cold halls  
Somebody's boy was brought one day.  
Somebody's boy and God help him now  
For that very touch of girlish grace,  
And the youthful bloom on that boyish cheek  
Shall be his curse in that hellish place.  
Somebody's boy and sick horror reels  
To picture the fate that before him lies.

You may weep and curse at the hissing whip  
But must breathe some things with averted eyes.

Somebody's boy and he was not bad,  
Just weak and headlong—a loathsome breath  
Shall blast that body, and better far,  
That it were the food of the worms of death.  
Somebody's boy is dragged today

Down thru foul depths, the perverts prey,  
In the place where they sent him to be reformed?  
Somebody's boy and who shall pay?

Oh, it matters little who pays the price,  
They can't give back what is clean and best  
To somebody's boy—But, ho, workers, rise,  
There are other boys and we'll save the rest!

# The Workers' Press: How to Develop It

IN a recent issue of Industrial Solidarity (No. 266, Dec. 8, 1923) there appeared some correspondence from Westfield, Mass., telling how a meeting of railroad workers there, went on record to boycott "The Springfield Union" because of its false reports about wages and conditions in the industry.

"Some of the men," writes the correspondent, "suggested the IWW papers. Industrial Solidarity, Industrial Worker and Industrial Pioneer, as proper sources of information."

And he continues: "One man said, 'For a long time the capitalist press poisoned our minds and for a long time we had no place where we could tell the truth or read the truth. Now the workers' papers afford such an opportunity.'"

This is at once a most striking expose of the nature of the capitalist press and an encouraging recognition of the value of the labor press. It ought to stimulate activity in behalf of the latter, not only in behalf of circulation, but improvement as well.

It should be recognized at the outset that the workers' press is not only deficient in circulation but also in technical and intellectual equipment. It is at best but a crude rudimentary beginning that needs to be more largely developed before it can be the great agent for working class liberation that it is bound to be.

The Workers' Press needs to build up its own news-gathering and distributing agencies. Consider, for instance, the Associated Press, with its 2,600 agencies all over the globe. For such agencies, the workers' press needs to train working class reporters and specialists in every department of industry and life. It needs also highly perfected printing plants, in modern up-to-date buildings, with telephone, telegraphic, radio and airplane connections. The workers' press needs, in brief, the many-sided organized and specialized intellectualism and technique of the capitalist press, in order to make the many-sided appeal that is characteristic of the latter in its struggle for the mastery of the minds of modern men.

This means years of training, experience and growth. It means the giving up of the belief that editors of labor papers can be made every six months, by taking some worker from "the point of production" at such intervals. Industrialists, the Finnish, working class daily at Duluth, Minn., has found even a yearly term very unsatisfactory. Besides editors, because of their many sources of information are more at the "point of production," that is, know more about industrial affairs in general, than does the average worker. Every great strike, with its portrayal by trained reporters in modern newspapers, demonstrates the superiority of trained, specialized workers over amateurs and bunglers,

Further, where are editors, if not at "the point of production," that is, where newspapers are produced!

The workers' press further must be a workers' press. It must not be the press of a faction, set or caste. It must represent all the workers, with all their fads and follies, in a real, sympathetic and helpful, not a narrow, destructive or warning spirit. Reserving, at all times, of course, the right of constructive criticism, it can be at once representative and progressive, indeed.

Such a press will defeat the capitalist press by replacing it with a better one. It will win out in all the big industrial centers. It will spread real working class, industrial union organization where none now exists. It will be a great factor in real working class liberation! And the IWW has the nuclei for the development of such a press. Will it rise equal to the promise therein embodied? With such a press, victory will be the IWW's.

Alois Sennefelder, Jr.



## The Moral of the Mule

A poor mule got disgusted with the same old feed of hay;  
And tried to kick the stuffing out of Si.Ball yesterday.  
The Marshall tried to save Ball and gave the mule whacks  
Now Si.Ball and the marshal are flat upon their backs.  
A streetman saw the fracas and to the mule he said:  
"Be lenient with the farmer but, cave in the marshal's head."  
The mule then told the streetman, how they treated him for years  
Which drew the pitchman's sympathy, and filled his eyes with tears,  
"But" said he to the mule, "our fates in common strike.  
Tho I'm what they call a man, some treat us both alike.  
But never mind the ups and downs, on your next trip back to earth.  
You may be born a marshal and, that marshal vice-versa".  
"In that case," the mule then said, "I'll be a long time dead.  
For I'd rather be a measly mule and live on hay instead."  
The little tale above set forth, may not be true on earth.  
But there's a moral to it all, take mules for what they're worth.

From Card No. X-81674.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



# General Convention Most Important Yet

**T**HE most important convention ever held in the history of the organization, such is the verdict pronounced on the 15th general convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held in Chicago, Ill., November 12 to December 3, 1923.

The convention had many difficult problems to contend with and it is believed the delegates solved them in the best manner possible under the many circumstances involved.

These problems had to do with revenue, changes in structure of organization, future organization campaigns, grievances, and international and domestic relations with other working class organizations. Only the most salient are dwelt with in this review.

## Many Fraternal Greetings

Many economic organizations sent fraternal greetings and wishes for success of the convention. The floor was granted to J. Cannon and Robert Minor, representing the Moscow Red International of Labor Unions and the Workers' Party, both of whom urged affiliation and the united front.

The convention voted down affiliation with the Moscow Red International of Labor Unions.

It sent a message of encouragement to the Workers of Italy, in their struggle with fascismo.

## Composition of Delegates

The convention was composed of delegates from the agricultural, lumber, coal and metal mine, general construction, building construction, metal and machinery, railroad and marine transport workers' industrial unions. Also one delegate representing the small industrial unions.

The general officers' reports, which followed the preliminary sessions, covered minutely every phase of the organization's activities. They showed gains not only in finances, but membership as well. The many publications are today in a healthier and better condition than that of a year ago.

## International Question

On the question of international relations, the general secretary-treasurer said:

"Our position on the international question is that of absorption and not of affiliation. We are out to organize the workers not into groups that engage in political intrigues but into a mighty disciplined organization on the economic field, along industrial lines, and in conformity with our pre-amble."

He pointed out that during his term of office, worker's delegations from European as well as Asiatic countries, have visited the General Headquarters, with the desire to learn more about the Industrial Workers of the World.

"From Mexico, South America and Australia the mighty voice of the workers calls to the IWW. They want autonomous administrations, and it is up to your delegates to this convention to bear this in mind when you deal with questions concerning the working class as a whole."

Henry Feinberg, Secretary of the General Defense Committee, made a lengthy report, giving in full the details of the committee's activities.

## Press Doing Well

The editors and business managers of the various publications reported. All of the latter are doing well. Especially interesting was the report of the Spanish paper, *Solidaridad*.

Announcing a circulation of over 10,000 per week, the report dealt with many questions concerning the organization of Spanish-speaking workers in this country and elsewhere. The editor made many recommendations about literature in Spanish, for domestic consumption, about competent organizers, and the great possibilities of the IWW in Mexico and South American countries.

## California Situation

Tom Connors, Secretary of the California Branch of the General Defense Committee, gave the convention a detailed outline of conditions existing there.

## Sliding Scale of Initiation and Dues

Many resolutions dealing with a change in dues and initiations were presented. Some favored a flat initiation and dues while others varied in their amounts. The Resolution Committee's substitute was adopted providing for an initiation fee from one to five dollars and the dues from fifty cents up to one dollar.

The convention felt that only the workers in their respective industries shall determine their financial affairs and that it tends to violate the principles of industrial unionism should we continue to force universal initiation, fees and dues.

## Industrial Union Autonomy

Industrial unions will no longer be bound to uniform laws as at present if measures adopted by the convention are approved by the membership. These measures grant greater industrial union autonomy.

By industrial union autonomy the convention does not mean it to be understood that a union can do as it pleases, only in so far as each industrial union shall determine its affairs relative to organization. At the present, the bulk of IWW membership is Western in character, coming from industries that demand a certain fixed policy that perhaps cannot be applied successfully in the East. Therefore it is the sense of this proposed measure to remove any and all barriers that may be encountered in organizing the workers in Eastern industry.

One of the provisions in the above measure is that any industrial union if it so desires and expresses it by a referendum vote, may have the privilege of putting its branches on a per-capita basis. This will assure the branches a certain amount of revenue to expand their local organization work and above all place greater responsibility and initiative the convention feels, on them.

## Changing the GEB

Another important structural change was in the composition of the General Executive Board. In the past, the GEB was elected from the 7 largest industrial unions. The result was a sort of detached body without concrete organic connection with any of the industrial unions. Under the new plan adopted by the convention, the chairmen of the industrial unions' general organization committees will make up the personnel of the new executive body. They will have an organic connection with the industrial unions, be more conversant with their respective needs and opportunities and also prove more economical and convenient than the old GEB—which cost over \$10,000 annually in salaries and expenses,—in that they will be paid as GOC chairman by their own industrial unions and be always at headquarters ready to act as often as occasion demands.

In addition to the new GEB, the General Administration will consist of a General Secretary-Treasurer, assistant secretary and general organizer. The executive power remains in the hands of the G. E. B.

Many clearing house plans for headquarters were also passed on by the convention.

Plans providing for general strike preparations and an international boycott of California products were adopted.

A monthly general office bulletin for internal complaints, criticisms, views, controversy, etc., was continued.

## Compulsory Assessments Defeated

The minority report of the Ways and Means Committee proposing that the convention go on record for compulsory assessments was defeated by a large vote.

A partial victory however was scored by the supporters of compulsion when the convention went on record to strike out Art. 8 Sec. 5, of the General Constitution, which reads: "The GEB shall issue a 50 cent assessment stamp to all industrial unions, which shall use the entire amount thereof."

This will give the right to any industrial union to issue such assessments as they may in their judgement see fit without any interference on the part of the general organization.

## Textile Union Gets Attention

The convention instructed the General Executive Board to send a competent organizer to the textile and other industrial centers in the East.

Albert Anz, manager of the printing plant, rendered a very interesting report upon its development. The financial condition of the plant today is better than it ever was.

## Behind Steel Drive

The entire support of the general organization was pledged behind a campaign to bring the steel workers into the fold of IWW.

The convention realized that in no other industry is the class struggle more fierce, more bitter and

brutal, than in the Steel Hells of Gary and his fellow stockholders.

The convention also voted to promote organization among the foodstuff workers.

## Biennial Conventions

If ratified by the membership yearly general conventions will be abolished and a general constitutional convention held once every two years. Conferences may be held with legislative power in regard to organization plans, but no part of the constitution can be amended.

## Better Headquarters Urged

Upon recommendation from the Ways and Means Committee instructions were issued to the GEB to secure a more suitable building for headquarters. The present building is unfit to house the printing plant and integral parts of the organization.

## Commutation Controversy

After a thorough investigation the Grievance Committee brought in a report on the commutation controversy that has been the theme of discussion among the membership for some time. On the question as to whether solidarity was broken the committee's findings are: "In regards to Solidarity, which is one of the basic principles of the IWW, every question is decided by the majority of all those whom it concerns, in all business meetings, by referendums, or a verbal agreement where the foregoing cannot be taken or held." The committee found that a majority of those offered commutation accepted it. Its findings were adopted by the convention.

At the concluding session, officers were nominated, according to both plans. These two tickets will go to the membership, along with the proposed new plan, and the vote on the plan will decide which set of officers are actually installed.

The convention reporter for Industrial Solidarity Fred Mann, says of the delegates and their work:

"This convention dared to question the advisability of tradition and to cast aside tactics and policies it believed were worn out and to replace them with others that will make the organization keep in line with the march of progress and evolution."

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## NOTICE TO THE MEMBERSHIP

**T**HE General Referendum Ballots are now in the field. Members may secure ballots from Branch Secretaries, Traveling Delegates, Delegates, Industrial Union Headquarters and General Headquarters.

Ballots must be in General Headquarters by February 10, 1924.

Send all ballots addressed General Office, Ballot Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

**SAM FORBES,**  
Gen. Sec'y-Treas., Pro Tem.

**INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**



# The Wall Street Wolves and the Wobs

By OPTIMIST

AS I watch the actions of the conglomeration of more or less human animals that make up this great American population, the words of the immortal bard are brought forcibly to my mind:

"What fools these mortals be."

If one looks beneath the surface, he, (or she), is struck with the evidence of primal instincts—the mark of the beast. The same passions which ruled our stone axe ancestors, rule our modern civilization. Scratch the surface of our polish and education—and you find the cave man just beneath. Our natures are a strange combination of Wolf and Ape. By virtue of the Ape in us, we are constantly trying to mimic those who are a little higher in the social scale than ourselves; without a question as to whether they are right or wrong, foolish or otherwise. This monkey trait is not only extremely foolish, but prevents us from bettering ourselves, or our conditions.

## The Wolf Nature

Wolf nature is the really deplorable and dangerous part of us, it is part of ALL of us, to a greater or less degree. It is the wolf nature that makes men rob widows and orphans, so that their wives and daughters may have monkey dinners, poodle banquets, and put \$10,000 collars on useless lap dogs. It is the Ape in the working people that causes them to permit this condition to exist, year in and year out. The workers not only permit this outrageous condition to exist, but actually place their tormentors on a pedestal to be worshipped.

It is the Wolf that causes the financial "kings" to use machine guns and gas bombs on hungry workers, and it is the Ape that causes the workers to submit.

It is the Wolf in the hearts of a few that causes them to appropriate to their own use, those things which were meant for all, and it is the Apes, judicial and political, and the uniformed jackals that uphold this system.

The ignorance and apathy of the working people is beyond belief. Some talk of what the next generation will do. Take the young man raised in the city, with his sideburns, bell-bottom pants, et cetera. The young man from the country with a vacant stare, and reverence of power. The little flapper with bobbed hair, and her face painted in modernistic art; great barbarous ear pendants, that make one naturally look for a nose ring and ankle chains. If these are the fathers and mothers of the next generation, we are due to get on the job in this generation.

Let us hope that the types above referred to, represent a small minority; a few morons and Robots. In that case we may pass it up as comedy; but remember there is, also, tragedy.

A great mass of people shorten their lives by burning up their nervous energy, in a vain search



ARE WE STILL IN GORILLA AGE?

for an elusive something. The hard worked person on a vacation, indulges in something which is simply hard work. The person who does next to nothing in his daily life, takes a vacation, and does still less. Many people take vacations, not because they need, or really want them, but because they are in search of that elusive something.

The dope fiend, the common drunk, the tramp, the persons of some degree of mentality but afflicted with the wanderlust, are all victims of this vain search.

## Restless—Dissatisfied

Ninety-five per cent of the population of the world is restless, dissatisfied. They do this or that, ostensibly for pleasure. As a matter of fact, what they mistake for pleasure is quite often an evidence of dissatisfaction—a hazy feeling of something missing from their lives. This mysterious, elusive something is happiness; contentment.

The question naturally arises, "Why do so many people go through life, without ever finding happiness or contentment?"

The answer is very simple. We all live unnatural lives. No one who lives unnaturally, who suppresses all natural inclinations, who defies nature by refusing to permit themselves the fulfillment of natural impulses, can ever be happy or contented.

Man is an animal, governed by the same natural laws as any other animal; therefore, the man without home, wife and children, no matter what his surroundings or financial circumstances, cannot possibly be happy or contented. For every condition, there is a reason; for every effect, a cause. The reason, the cause, of the unhappiness and discontent of the great majority of the people of the world—is the system under which they live. A system which refuses them the pursuit of happiness, allows them no possibility of contentment.

Young men and women of the working class are advised to get married; to settle down. When a

normal young man marries a normal young woman, the natural result is a family of children. The young man of today, realizing how hard it is to earn living wages, how uncertain is employment, is afraid to take the responsibility of a family. No man has a right to bring children into the world unless he can see something better than ignorant slavery ahead of them.

### Married Slaves

Under the present system, when a working man has a wife and family to support, he ceases to be an independent, thinking human being. He becomes a slave to this great (?) system, a cog in the wheels which grind out "Civilization." A link in the chains which bind the working class down in their degradation and misery. The average working man loves his wife a thousand times more than the average millionaire loves his, because he (the worker) hasn't the time for affinities, nor the opportunities for wrecking other men's homes that the millionaire enjoys. The worker loves his children infinitely more than the parasite does his, because they are his life; while the "Representative Citizen" has so many diversions.

How often these poor devils have said to themselves (few have the backbone to say it to others): Oh! if we only had a system which would take the excess, and unearned pleasures and opportunities from the parasites, and give them to those who have really earned them. A system in which a worker controls his job, and could live; not merely exist in misery.

The opportunity to join a movement with this end in view, has been offered the American workers for many years, but they are so imbued with the psychology of the boss, so dead mentally as a result of their miserable condition, that they refuse to even listen to a word of explanation. The majority of the workers are like the Italian people who stoned Columbus, and drove him from the country because he voiced a theory, which they, in their ignorance and narrow mindedness, could not comprehend. Columbus proved his theory, and the whole world was forced to accept it as fact. The Italians of today are proud to remind you of what a great man Columbus was.

### Nothing Equals It

Considering the education, and so-called civilization of today, there is nothing in history to equal the persecutions heaped upon the IWW. Members have been tarred and feathered, hanged and beaten to death. Business men and prominent citizens in this marvelously civilized country have mutilated members of the IWW in ways that would shame the worst savage that ever roamed the jungle. Members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been thrown into prison, and though admitted to be model prisoners, treated worse than the most refractory. The only thing charged against these men was being members of the IWW and yet, with all the greatest powers of the country, trying with all their might, no one has ever been able to prove the IWW an unlawful organization.

Forty-four

Some day, in the not far distant future, the Industrial Workers of the World are going to prove their theory, and the whole world will accept it as fact. When that day comes, all the weaklings will tell you, "No, I never had a red card, but I always believed in the Wobblies."

Doesn't Marx say something about "every system containing within itself the seeds of its own destruction"?

When the "Wolves of Wall St." are tearing their hair and calling on their gods to save them, the Wobs will be on the job with red wheelbarrows, gathering up the remains.

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## Fascism: Reaction of Big Capitalism

WHAT is fascism? The Workers' Dreadnought of London, England, answers "Fascism is the politics of the bruisers." Or as we Americans would say, it is government by strong arm men and with strong arm methods.

But fascism is something more than a reign by terror. Back of fascism, whether in Italy, or in this country, is big business. It is Judge Gary and Mr. Julius Barnes, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, who praise fascism abroad and proclaim its desirability here.

Big business fears the legal course of political and economic development resulting from the world-war. Big business uses force to abort such development as detrimental to itself. Just as in pregnancy violent abortion is resorted to in order to avoid birth, so does big business proceed by force to prevent the birth of a new era detrimental to its profit and preservation.

Thus, in the last analysis, fascism is the terrorism employed by big capitalism to save itself from the revolutionary aftermath of the world-war and the dawn of the new era. In other words, fascism is the reaction of big business to its own revolutions.

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## BIG INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Production in the United States in 1921 was valued at 56 billions of dollars, according to the statistics compiled by the bureau of census. The products of industrial establishments reached a value of \$43,672,785,000. Agricultural production during that year was valued at \$12,402,000,000.

These figures reflect the great industrial development of the country. Where agriculture once predominated, it now contributes only approximately one-fifth of the production of the country.

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INDUSTRIAL PIONEER  
TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR.**

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



# Readers Praise the Pioneer

Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 18, 1923.

The Industrial Pioneer is a first-class labor magazine; one of the best.—E. F. C.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 16, 1923.

The Industrial Pioneer is the best goods in the market.—I. R. J.

Calder, Idaho, Dec. 13, 1923.

I will not miss it again, as it is the best reading we get.—V. N.

Detroit, Mich., Nov. 29, 1923.

The December issue is a work of art and is certainly worthy of congratulations.

The Pioneer ought to have a circulation of at least a thousand copies in Detroit; and it will, if any efforts can be made to count for anything.—C. M.

Franklin, Pa., Nov. 26, 1923.

If we'd had such literature from 1905 to 1917 we would not have been in the big war, and by now we would have been in full control of the industries.

Keep up the good work and the day of Industrial Democracy will be here before we hardly realize it.—L. L. M.

San Pedro, Calif., Nov. 28, 1923.

Well, we're off! Received the Pioneers about two hours ago and sold about 45 copies already. Don't forget that extra 100 I ordered a few days ago.

That makes it 500! Keep up the fine goods in the December issue and I'll plug for 750 by March!—L. S. F.

Denver, Colo., Nov. 23, 1923.

I have been watching for a long time the steady improvement in the I. W. W. press and literature, but this latest achievement of the Industrial Pioneer (the Amnesty Special) should be an eye-opener to even the most skeptical, as to what the working class can accomplish.

Congratulations to all those who have helped in the work of building up our literature.—B. G.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1923.

The Christmas Amnesty Number is a knockout. Chaplin's cover page is a thing to be proud of. It reaches right out from the news stands and grabs one.

Considered from a standpoint of magazine construction alone, the entire contents will stand up without apology in any company.—M. J. C.

Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1923.

Just finished reading article on Modern Industrialism in December Pioneer. It brings out much information that is needed. It certainly shows up the inter-relationship of industry. Like the threads in a piece of cloth, one industry is not more important or less important than the other.

Many of the members in the field express very favorable comment regarding the magazine with

its present make-up, and I am sure that it will be rewarded with a steady growth with the present good work it is doing in the field of education and propaganda.—F. W. B.

Jamaica, L. I., N. Y., Dec. 3, 1923.

I have read "The Lynching of Bud Williams" twice. It is a well-told and thrilling story.—F. C.

Cleveland, O., Dec. 3, 1923.

Received the December Pioneer but cannot find words to say what I think about it. Perhaps if I repeat a few remarks heard from others it will do:

An old gentleman of eighty who always pays for two papers of each edition of all English papers published by the I. W. W. ("One for me and one to give away") said, "Whyll don't a paper like that come out EVERY DAY."

Mrs. Radis, 2700 Wade Ave., "The best I ever saw."

A fellow worker in the hall, "That editor guy of the Pioneer sure knows how to make a book."

But why go on. I suppose you are receiving congratulations by the hundreds.

I am all sold out, so am sending the enclosed order for more.—E. L.

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 8, 1923.

The Amnesty issue was superlatively good. "The Lynching of Bud Williams" and "The Wreck of the Silk Special" were a pleasant surprise. More of that stuff will definitely establish our magazine at the same time emphasizing the fact that within the working class we have brains and literary ability that measures with any creation of the literary elite.—J. M.

Carneiro, Kansas, Nov. 29, 1923.

Sample copy of December Industrial Pioneer received, and thank you very much for the same. I was agreeably surprised at make-up and contents of the same.

I read the magazine from cover to cover and like it. That's a nice little cartoon of slippery Sam Gompers, the biggest labor fakir that has ever been on exhibition, judging by the reports of the late A. F. of L. convention. I noted the vast decrease in membership, which pleased me very much. But with the aid and abetting of the U. S. Chambers of Commerce and other like institutions, the A. F. of L. will never lack for dupes.

This is the first time I ever had the pleasure of reading any I. W. W. publications. I note by the slip enclosed in "Industrial Pioneer" there is the "Industrial Worker" and "Industrial Solidarity." Would you please send me an old copy of each to read? I want to send in a subscription for some one of your valuable publications — more than likely the "Pioneer," as it seems to be a husky infant.—J. C. M.



# The Pioneer and the Postal Clerks

**J**UST a line or two to let you know how the Industrial Pioneer is accepted among Uncle Sam's Postal Clerks.

For several months I have carried on a little educational program of my own, aided by "Sol" and Worker. Things went along very nicely but no remarkable results were obtained. For some unknown reason I had neglected to introduce the Pioneer.

However, after having placed several December Pioneers in reliable hands and given them a week to read them over, I asked for their true opinions. The answers were as expected: "Splendid," "very good," "it hit me just right," "fine; it doesn't seem to contain such bitterness as your weekly papers."

I did not ask in just what manner "bitterness" should be interpreted. I realize the truth hurts and sometimes our weekly editions are rather "blunt."

Mail clerks, as I find them, are an intelligent group of workers, and we need them, I'm sure! Discontent reigns supreme among them, one way or the other.

They represent every class, religion and organization; even the much loved IWW are in evidence among them, and we hope to send to the next convention a mail clerk to represent Industrial Union No. 500.

This will be all for the present. Hoping we may increase the circulation of the Pioneer among many more "unpatriotic" mail clerks, I remain,

Yours for the IWW.—F. W.

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Chicago, Ill., Nov. 24, 1923.

Only about three times a decade I come to eulogize someone for commendable service, and this time the Editor of "Industrial Pioneer" receives my words of appreciation and praise.

By the December, 1923, number I am moved to say that this issue is the most interesting labor magazine that I have read since certain copies of "The Masses"—years ago,—and I consider it an accomplishment of proletarian editorship and education.

A splendid variety, the careful selection and the high quality of this copy should attract intelligent readers and thinking workers everywhere to the Industrial Pioneer and incidentally to the organization.

Trusting that you will maintain this standard of excellence in the future, I remain always

Yours for Working Class Education.

H. R. J.

## 60 Per Cent

**T**O speak in figures and facts is the language of our age. For the sake of uniformity, starting and working point, we use the percentage scale. Our language is full of such expressions as: 100 per cent American, 99 per cent pure, 1 and 1-2 per cent (?), 2 per cent organized, 10 per cent plus cost and 50/50 or 50 per cent propositions.

At 30 Irving Place, New York City is located a corporation known as American Chamber of Economics. A school board composed of representatives of banks, houses of financiers and foundations, manufacturers, and a former member of directors of our invisible government U. S. C. of C. (United States Chamber of Commerce).

Not a mass growing organization, but a clique bent on making such words as "efficiency," "business," and etc. real passwords instead of framed wall mottoes. It is the latest development in the evolution of our "lil' red school-house on the hill." Changing lil' to large, color red to black or gold and from the hill to New York.

They, the school-board say that "60 per cent of the factors governing successes" of business are economic factors not understood by an average business man regardless of how much of an expert he is in his line. This fact is endorsed by their, "typical subscribers" or students among whom are Mr. Carver of Dept. of Economics of Harvard University, executives from well known concerns ranging all the way from soup makers, railway supply manufacturers to modern banks and U. S. Steel Corp.

Furthermore they class these economic factors as: credit inflation, industrial disturbances, transportation tie-ups, international complications, wage rates, purchasing power of large bodies of the population, etc.

The "public" or the working people would call or class them: strikes, strikes and some more strikes and boycotts such as are carried on against California made goods.

These economics courses are offered at about \$100 to all men not earning livelihood by honest work to protect them in the 60 per cent class, with aims in changing the ratio from 60 per cent to as near 100 per cent as possible. The best thing under the sun for grafters is just such a course in American Chamber of Economics, and they should be and are interested in it.

But WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE at Duluth, Minn., is offering also a course in economics in which we ought to be interested. Not a cut-up and dried or suppressed study of few facts which even the business men are asked to know, but a thorough study of the subject which we workers must know in order to properly apply our economic power to produce the best results in our class-war.

Our education must be as good as theirs and one better in fundamental subjects such as economics before we can reverse and keep the per cent of successes to our credit.

EX-TUSSARI JUSSISKI.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER





# Editorial



## What Means this Unemployment?

**A** GAIN is "retrenchment" the slogan of capitalism. Again is a "business recession" upon us. Again are the workers facing unemployment. From all sides come reports of employees laid off. Railroads, textiles and steel mills, metal and machine shops,—all industries are decreasing their forces and curtailing output. With the passing of the holiday season the unemployed will undoubtedly be still more increased. Then will the big department stores and mercantile establishments also lay off their employees. The working class outlook for the immediate future, is as a result, not an encouraging one. With prices increasing in height and employment vanishing, it is probable that 1924 will witness much poverty and destitution among its members.

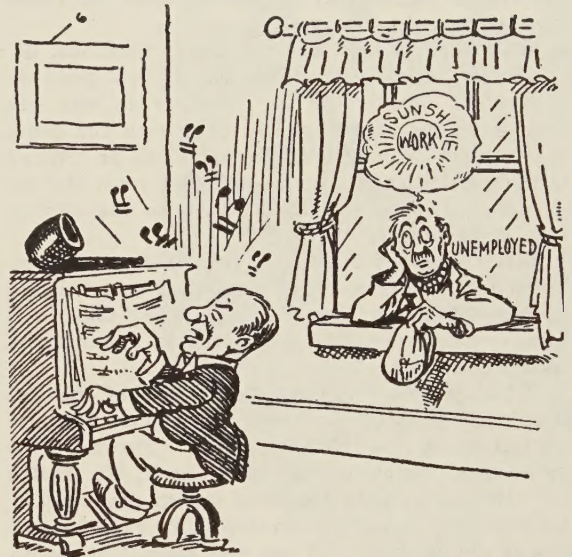
Nor will the farming or the middle class fare much better. The statistics of failures among manufacturers and merchants during October and November show big, sudden excesses over normal; while it is freely predicted that at least 2,000,000 more farmers are doomed to bankruptcy, because of their inability to meet their mortgage indebtedness. In fact, none but the more highly capitalized corporations seem likely to survive the present slump.

It is said that the recession will last only three months. But will it? Who knows?

Much discussion generally attends the recurrence of these conditions. Why these periodic cycles of prosperity and panic? Why these "business fluctuations" with almost clock-like regularity? Some say they are due to sun-spots which affect the weather, cause bad crops and subsequent bad conditions generally. But crops are more abundant now than ever before; too much so, as the constant decrease in wheat acreage too plainly shows. Some say they are only states of mind: that is, they are due to psychological causes, which create unreasonable fears and precipitate panic. But as business is growing ever more statistical, and as the first indications of recession are accordingly "forecasted" as a result of carefully tabulated conditions, this theory may be dismissed as untenable. It won't hold water, especially in modern business calculation.

Of course, there are the labor unions; like Hamlet, the play is impossible without them! It is their unreasonable wage demands—never the unreasonable profits of their employers, oh, no!—that cause recessions in business. Labor unionism, so we are told, boosts wages up so high as to make industry impossible of continuance. And so it must stop! How simple!

But, as there is no such dominant unionism in most of the industries closing down, this argument is amusing to say the least. In textiles, steel, railroads, autos, etc., there is practically no unionism



"YES, WE HAVE NO EMPLOYMENT!"

and, consequently, no grounds for the "exorbitant unionism" argument. Besides, as a result of the open shop drive of two years ago, and the decline in union membership resulting from it, there are less strikes—less manifestations of labor's "exorbitant methods"—now than ever before. With business the best in two years, last summer witnessed, in contrast to 1921, with its big coal and railroad strikes and one million strikers, only 44 strikes throughout the nation, all so small as to prove relatively insignificant indeed! As a wage factor, labor unionism is, accordingly, practically nil! And any argument blaming depressions or panics on it, is without any basis in fact.

The European situation and legislative uncertainty are also held to be responsible for this current unemployment and bad prospects for labor. Undoubtedly, Europe is a factor. The internationalism of modern industry is such that European conditions cannot fail to react on those of American labor in the long run. But curiously enough there are some who contend that export trade is relatively so small, only about 6 per cent of all production, as to prove comparatively unimportant as a decisive factor in domestic conditions, which, they also contend, tend to the natural development and creation of home markets wherein to absorb production. And curiously enough, again, exports showed a decidedly favorable upward turn during September and October. Nevertheless, October was the first month of the present recession, as reflected in the sudden increase of failures. With exports on the increase why



this slump in the midst of it, and at a time, too, when the fate of Germany looked more unfavorable than at present with the change in French policy?

As to legislative uncertainty, who believes that? The industro-financial hierarchy that rules this country has the latter's legislative powers so tightly sewed up in their vest pockets as to make legislative uncertainty impossible! It doesn't exist for them. And they are the country!

What then is the cause of these recessions, depressions, panics, etc.? Like the Biblical poor we have them always with us. War or no war, big crops or no crops, bad export conditions and good, they always come periodically to plague us. Why? Is there no balm in Gilead—no relief from this inevitable monstrosity? No solution to the enigma that it apparently presents?

Before answering, let us present some figures. They are all drawn from safe, sane and reliable sources—if such a thing is at all possible under this most unsafe, unreliable and insane of systems, the capitalist system.

"The Americas" is the official organ of the National City Bank of New York, the biggest financial institution in the United States. Through this mouthpiece, the statistician of the bank, Mr. Austin tells us that in 1919 the total wealth produced in the United States amounted to \$62,500,000,000, and that in the production of this vast amount of wealth the wages paid amounted to \$10,000,000,000. As will be seen at a glance the average wage of 1919 was less than one-sixth of the value of the workers' product. That is, the workers were put in the position of being enabled to buy back one-sixth of what they produced. Is it any wonder that, since the workers and their dependents are the majority of the population, the wealth produced is not consumed, with the result that "overproduction" that is, underconsumption ensues and recessions, et al, become necessary?

Some economists are beginning to see the mathematical impossibility of 10 billions buying back 62 1-2 billions and thus keep the wheels of production and distribution perpetually turning. One of these is John Hobson, the Englishman. He has, in his book, "The Economics of Unemployment," developed the underconsumption or over-saving theory of crises. This theory is couched in technical language. But translated into plain language it means that the rich, i. e., the income receivers, otherwise known as the capitalists, cannot spend their incomes. Dissipate, debauch—"promote art, science and civilization"—as they will, they cannot spend that 52 1-2 billions. So they save it and convert it into more capital than is required in production.

This policy has many bad results. One is the overbuilding of plants (in America the "excess capacity" of various industries ranges from 25 to 50 per cent). Another is the periodic piling up of unsalable goods, with the consequent cutting of prices, shutting down of factories, unemployment, and all the well-known phenomena of the business crisis. Still another series of results are the ceaseless struggle for markets, the constant growth of selling, as

compared with the making of, commodities, and springing out of the belief in limited markets, the reduction of acreage, the canny policy, the restrictive policy of the trusts, and the national policies of protection and imperialism, with their war and unemployment. Here then are the domestic and foreign evils of underconsumption and oversaving: in other words, the evils of which recessions, depressions and panics are born. Such are the basic facts. But what's the remedy?

Plainly, the way to stop the recurrence of all these things is to stop underconsumption by the workers and oversaving by their exploiters. Hobson would do this, in part, by so increasing the worker's share in production as to absorb some of the income of the rich. In other words, he would increase their ability to consume more and thus do away, to a greater extent, with the unsalable pile of goods, and all that grows out of it.

But more wages alone are not sufficient. The capitalists will even then continue to under consume and over save. **The workers should get all that they produce. Otherwise the mathematics of production and consumption will never harmonize.** Not until Labor gets all it produces will the possibilities of more recessions, etc., be entirely removed. Nor will the abnormalities of selling, imperialism, etc., disappear either.

In the capitalist exploitation of labor will be found the cause of all the modern social ills. And only a working class, conscious of the facts, and industrially organized, can end such exploitation, with its vast social consequences, forever. Slowly, tediously, is such consciousness, such industrial organization, growing. Help it along, O Labor! Help it along, ere it is too late!



## His Name!?

By Archie Sinclair

I go into the lumber camps,  
And log drives on the river;  
In camp and mill, I'm never still,  
My message I deliver.  
In mining and construction camps;  
To migratory workers;  
I preached my creed, the crying need  
To do away with shirkers.  
In sweatshop and in crowded slum  
I'm restless as the ocean;  
I am not dead, I raise my head,  
Where'er I take the notion.  
Although oppression weighs me down,  
I'll never, never perish;  
In every clime, through endless time,  
I'll live and thrive and flourish.  
Perhaps you wonder who I am,  
I'm known to every nation;  
Each tribe and race have seen my face,  
My name is AGITATION.